

11 JUNE 1987



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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

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INTERNATIONAL

PALESTINIANS, SOVIETS, ISRAELIS ATTEND ROME CONFERENCE

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 22-28 Apr 87 pp 25, 27

[Text] The restoration of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union seemed quite plausible last week after a meeting between Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and a high level Soviet delegation attending the International Socialism Conference in Rome. As officially scheduled Peres was expected to meet with the two Soviet officials: Brutents, deputy director of international affairs in the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and his assistant Alexander Zhutov.

A number of European parties participated in that committee which was attended, specifically, by Hanna Sanyurah, editor-in-chief of AL-FAJR newspaper of Jerusalem, and Fayiz Abu-Rahmah, chairman of the lawyers guild in the occupied Gaza Sector. Peres described his meeting with the Soviet delegation as the first serious direct dialogue with the Soviet Union over very serious matters. He added that he returned from Rome optimistic about the possibility of bilateral talks between the Arabs and the Israelis.

Even though what Peres wanted to achieve through the meeting was clear, Soviet intentions were less obvious. It is public knowledge that Peres is trying to achieve important gains such as allowing an increasing number of Jews to leave the Soviet Union. Much more importantly, he needs to take a significant step towards the restoration of diplomatic relations with Moscow. Success here would mean that he and his party can enter an election and win enough votes to defeat the Likud and thus avoid sharing the government with Shamir. The Soviets very rarely send someone as important as Brutents unless the meeting is very significant. What is behind this meeting? What have the Soviets asked from Peres in return?

Israel can undoubtedly help Moscow in several areas foremost of which is Soviet participation in the international conference and perhaps most importantly is the question of Soviet negotiations over issues that are currently the subject of discussion with the United States.

In the Middle East the Soviets, by attending the international conference, want Israel to give up a part of the occupied Arab territories so that they can say albeit indirectly, that the concession was the result of pressure from Moscow. With regard to relations with Washington, the Soviets might request that the

American Jewish lobby lift the pressure which is applied on the White House and which is damaging to Soviet-American relations. This would create an atmosphere more conducive to a dialogue between the two superpowers. This is badly needed by Gorbachev who is in a delicate position because of internal opposition to his recent policies.

If there is any truth to what Henry Kissinger said last week that Gorbachev's days are numbered, then the Soviet and Israeli leaders have a mutual interest in reaching an agreement as soon as possible. President Reagan himself is also in dire need of an international accomplishment that would alleviate the burden of "Irangate." Maybe that is the reason why everyone agreed to hold this meeting at the International Socialism Conference.

That forum offered two other advantages. Firstly, Peres was attending not as foreign minister but as representative of the Israeli Labor Party. Secondly, the Middle East question was discussed by the Middle East committee which gave it an international character even though it is obvious that the committee was just an excuse for a bilateral meeting at which the delegations would attempt to make progress towards the restoration of diplomatic relations between them.

These speculations may prove to be correct but Brutents, considered one of the most important Soviet foreign policymakers, has made no decision. When AL-MAJALLAH asked him about what transpired between him and Peres he said that Peres briefed him on the Israeli position regarding several issues including the international conference. He would not comment on whether the Israeli foreign minister had requested that Jewish immigration be eased or that diplomatic relations be restored. The Soviet official would only say that they discussed the international conference and "changing the Middle East situation by exerting efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement that would guarantee the legitimate rights of all the people in the region, including the Palestinians."

When asked about conditions imposed by Israel, and even by Peres, for Soviet participation in the international conference he angrily responded that "nobody can set conditions concerning our participation. It seems to me that this issue is in no way connected to the wishes of a given individual or political leader, etc. This can be attributed to the current situation and our international position." He added that there were no negotiations for the restoration of diplomatic ties.

An Interview With Abu-Rahmah

The Soviet official was interviewed at the Sheraton Hotel in Rome where many talks were held in connection with the International Socialism Conference. Yet none of the committees that were formed at the conference, including the Middle East committee, produced important resolutions or recommendations. There is still a question about the role of the two participating Palestinians. What was the purpose of their attendance? What did they accomplish? Did they participate because no Arab party was represented on the Middle East committee while Israel had two? Did they meet with the Soviet delegation and to what end?

We put these questions to Mr Fayiz Abu-Rahmah and we asked him what happened in the Middle East committee. He said that "Peres said to the committee, and in the presence of the Soviet delegate, that it was improper for the Soviet Union to ask us to make peace with the Arabs when it is still hostile toward us. They must start by achieving reconciliation with us before asking us to reconcile our differences with the Arabs. He said that the door to Jewish immigration was closed when it should be wide open. He presented these issues and wanted to accomplish them in order to gain a distinguished position in Israel. The Soviet delegate responded that diplomatic relations were severed because of Israel's occupation of the territories and that the Soviets would consider reestablishment of ties if progress was made towards peace. He said at the meeting outside the committee that he would report Peres' views to the Soviet leadership. He also said that Jewish immigration was allowed but within the limits of security considerations and restrictions imposed on such operations."

[Question] Will there be a Soviet response to that?

[Answer] The Soviet delegate made it clear that such ties depend on the development of peaceful efforts and other factors. He said that restoration of ties are predicated on the return of occupied territories to the Arabs.

[Question] Did you meet privately with the Soviet delegate?

[Answer] Our meeting was for the purpose of etiquette, nothing more.

[Question] Then what was the point of your and Mr Sinyorah's attendance, especially since the Palestinians used to be represented at the International Socialism Conference as observers whereas you are here in your personal capacity?

[Answer] We attended the Lima conference in July 1986 on the basis of a personal invitation from the secretariat. The PLO also attended. At that time they said that a decision to invite the PLO required the unanimous approval of members of the International Socialism Conference. This could not be accomplished and an invitation was not made. We are here in a private capacity as individuals from the occupied territories. I was invited to a previous conference. Our presence here is in no way in defiance of the PLO. We follow the PLO's policy and pursue the ultimate Palestinian interest.

[Question] But in whose name do you speak at this conference?

[Answer] We speak as individuals with no connection to the official side of the PLO. For instance, I said to the Middle East committee that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people, an issue on which the inhabitants of occupied territories agree and which has the approval of the Arab countries as well as more than a hundred nations of the world. We in the occupied territories do not even have the right to elect municipal officials. We have no parties and no political freedom so we cannot elect our political representatives. Fighters always represent their peoples. That was true in Indo-China, Algeria, Vietnam,

Zimbabwe, and other areas of the world. Palestinians have the right to elect their representatives without interference. The Soviet delegate said: "We support the PLO and support the right of the Palestinian people to elect their representatives. That is an absolute right and should not be violated by any side."

[Question] As individual Palestinians, what did you accomplish at this conference for the Palestinian people as a whole?

[Answer] We said that the Arab-Israeli conflict could be settled by force. Five wars have failed to resolve the conflict. There only remains peaceful efforts which could accomplish a just settlement in the Middle East. The Palestinians were the victims of five wars in the region and they are still suffering. They are diligently pursuing peace because they see in it an opportunity to survive and lead ordinary lives devoid of tragedies. They support the international peace conference and support the Palestine Liberation Organization as their only legitimate representative.

[Question] Did you discuss the situation of Palestinians in Lebanon and the war of camps?

[Answer] There were many comments on the camp situation and the protection that should be given to camp inhabitants.

[Question] With regard to representation, we learned that Halevi, appointed by the PLO to represent it at the International Socialism Conference, attempted to enter the meeting but Peres objected and threatened to withdraw if he were admitted as a PLO representative. Is this true?

[Answer] I have just explained the mechanics of participation in the conference and I know nothing of Peres' position on that.

[Question] We also learned that Peres, in a closed meeting by the Middle East committee, said that a Jordanian-Palestinian state was inevitable. Did he?

[Answer] Not exactly. He expressed desire to attend an international conference in which all parties, including the Palestinians, would be represented. He rejected representation by the PLO saying: "Those who shoot should not negotiate." He set conditions for Soviet participation that included the restoration of relations and the easing of Jewish immigration. He said that any settlement should not be imposed. The Soviet Union said it opposes the imposition of a settlement and that it was up to the parties to reach a negotiated settlement amongst themselves.

[Question] How do you respond to the rumors that you, in particular, were chosen not only with PLO approval but also with a green light from Peres?

[Answer] First, I am not a friend of Peres. We are not equals and therefore cannot have a friendship. He is a foreign minister and a former prime minister while I am an ordinary person. The PLO did not object to our participation and we don't deviate from its policies.

There are many facts behind the statements by Brutents and Abu-Rahmah that I would like to keep secret. Contrary to statements by the Soviets, the Israelis said they discussed with them the restoration of diplomatic ties but neither revealed the results of that dialogue. The significance of the Rome meeting will, therefore, not be apparent for several months. Moscow is known to proceed slowly, even under Gorbachev, and it is unlikely that ties will be restored in the immediate future. There is no doubt, however, that the Rome meeting means that negotiations have begun and are progressing. Political observers say that the Soviets never travel publicly unless they know they will bring back results. Are their expectations realistic? This question will be answered either negatively or positively in the next few days.

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CHANGING SOVIET POSITION IN GULF COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 25 Apr-1 May 87 pp 8-9

[Article by Fu'ad Matar: "Gorbachev's Plan: To Visit the Gulf"]

[Text] (These impressions and observations were written in Kuwait following a visit to Baghdad, and in light of meetings and discussions with some officials and those concerned with Gulf-Soviet relations.)

With much deliberation and silence, the Soviet Union is realizing gains in the Arab region. It is doing so at the expense of the American administration which has turned its back on the area, for it is not showing due concern over problems suffered by the countries in the area, and any interest it may exhibit is in the negative direction.

A few days ago, I witnessed in Baghdad an unprecedented warm welcome for the Soviet Union, and when I went to Kuwait I found the same kind of welcome.

In Baghdad I followed, through the press and TV, the extensive attention paid to the Soviet delegation, headed by Petr Demichev, first deputy of the Supreme Soviet. I followed the well-calculated welcome he received from the Iraqi leadership, from the type of reception which he received to the publication of the minutes of the celebration commemorating the friendship and cooperation treaty between Iraq and the Soviet Union. In this situation, it can be assumed that this delegation was treated in a way commensurate with the magnitude of the important issue for which it came to Baghdad: namely the renewal, and not just the commemoration, of the friendship and cooperation treaty.

In Kuwait, I followed through the press and TV the extensive attention paid to the Soviet delegation headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky, and the type of welcome he received from Kuwaiti officials. It may be said that the mission that brought Petrovsky to Kuwait was to invite the Amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, to visit the Soviet Union.

According to international protocol, the announcement of official visits by heads of state can be done only after mutual understanding and agreement. In other words, a visit to the Soviet Union by the Amir of Kuwait--announced by

the Soviet official in a press conference--was agreed upon, and the details of the announcement were agreed upon as well.

In contemplating developments in the Soviet Union and the radical change Soviet policy is undergoing, one may consider Demichev and Petrovsky part of the group that is preaching Gorbachev's leadership and not Marxist ideology. This group's primary goal is to convey to the Arab countries that the Soviet Union, which is known for its interference, its desire to spread Marxist ideology, and its sponsoring of Communist parties in the area, is not as impetuous as it used to be; furthermore, under Gorbachev's leadership, the Soviet Union is removing the Iron Curtain pulled around itself, and is looking for a new face through which to deal with the world.

It may be assumed that the main objective of Demichev and Petrovsky's mission is to reassure the Gulf countries and Iraq that the Soviet Union on its part has decided that the Iraq-Iran war must be brought to an end, and that this assurance is not lip service, but will be followed by secret rapid efforts to find a solution to this war.

There remain five other matters; a quick look at them provides an answer to what the Soviet Union seeks. We present these matters as follows:

1. The Soviet Union is well aware of the torture the Arabs (the Gulf states in particular) are enduring because of the Iraq-Iran war. It is also aware of the importance the Arabs attach to the presence of an effective international party to use its weight to end the war. Based on such an awareness, it is essentially saying: "Here I am, ready, and all you have to do is to support me."

2. The United States has been used to the idea that in the end the Arabs will side with it, and that those dealing with the Soviet Union would really prefer to deal with the United States. However, this feeling was prompted by Soviet leaders who were somewhat or very sedate. Gorbachev's leadership created a new climate for business which is bound to induce those Arabs dealing with the Soviet Union to be more confident and reassured, and those who are wary of dealing with it to think seriously about putting an end to their circumspection.

3. The Soviet Union, which has believed ever since it severed relations with Israel in 1967 that the way to win the Arabs' hearts is to take a principled stand on the Palestinian issue, is discovering 20 years later that it was not wrong in its stand; furthermore without such a stance Gorbachev would not have been able to find an acceptable ground in the Arab world on which to move. When Gorbachev declared, through his emissaries, that he will maintain and develop this stand and will not resume diplomatic relations with Israel, it means that he wants to consolidate this position and to add a new stand related to the Iraq-Iran war. The Arabs know--as do the Soviet Union and other superpowers--that this stand was made in order to find a solution to the Palestinian problem.

4. Gorbachev will be very grateful to Iraq, especially the Saddam Husayn leadership, for helping to solve a difficult problem: the Soviet Union, because of the late president Anwar al-Sadat's abrogation of its treaty with Egypt, got the feeling that no one among the Arabs wanted to establish lasting relations with it. When President Saddam Husayn took a favored position toward the Soviet Union, one might call it a type of reappraisal. Not only did he uphold the treaty until its last effective day, but he renewed it; this did the Gorbachev leadership a great service, for now it can say to the Soviet people that, thanks to the Iraqi position, it has erased the humiliation that al-Sadat's defamation of the Soviet Union brought upon it.

We say this while bearing in mind that the Iraqi leadership upheld the treaty until the last moment (lest it be said that it reneged on its promise), and renewed the treaty because they had experienced dealing with the Soviet Union, and because the Gorbachev leadership is following a policy free of hegemony in dealing with others. Henceforth, and in light of Iraq's renewal of the treaty, the treaty will have a new dimension in that a treaty between the Soviet Union and a western country will not cast any shadows on the independence of this country.

5. Gorbachev is presumably carefully planning a surprise, which is for him to visit the Gulf region, Iraq and Kuwait specifically. In order to achieve this surprise, which may take place after he opens up to others and takes effective steps toward ending the Iraq-Iran war, he has to prepare for it psychologically and to find a proper scenario. Psychological preparation means the removal of any prevailing idea that the Soviet Union is to be feared and is against religion. It is likely that one may soon hear that Gorbachev has opened channels of dialogue and dealings with the Christian and Muslim clergy, or that he commissioned a prominent personality to head the pilgrimage delegation and to carry a message to King Fahd Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz. As for the scenario, it appears to call first for an official visit by a Gulf ruler to the Soviet Union; and protocol says that if a ruler undertakes an official visit to another ruler, the guest extends an invitation to the host. To be clearer, the Amir of Kuwait, Shay'kh Jabir Ahmad, who has been chosen by Gorbachev to be the first Gulf visitor to the Soviet Union at the summit level, will extend an invitation to Gorbachev to visit Kuwait. The Soviet leader will certainly accept the invitation.

In the past, it was said that the Soviet leadership's goal and dream was to get to the warm waters of the Gulf. By virtue of the abovementioned scenario, Gorbachev will make the dream come true, and his visit will be welcomed so long as he projects such a reassuring image to the world.

Should Gorbachev visit Kuwait, he will also visit Iraq. He will most probably prefer to start with Kuwait even though the nature of relations makes it obvious that he should visit Iraq first. However, Gorbachev is seeking representation for his country in the GCC states, not to mention the fact that while he wants to return the favor to Iraq, he does not want to anger Iran in the meantime, as long as he is seeking a solution to the war.

If the Amir of Kuwait should visit the Soviet Union, a very likely possibility since the invitation and the acceptance have been announced, his reception will be very great and indeed historic for several reasons: that Kuwait was the one to break the blockade imposed on the Soviet Union by establishing relations with it and others followed suit; that Kuwait has been heading the Islamic group since it hosted the summit; and that Kuwait is obsessed with the investments issue, and the Soviet Union aspires to have a share, however modest, of these investments.

Moreover, should the visit take place, Gorbachev will surely adopt a more progressive stance before the amir on pending issues such as the Palestinian problem and the Soviet position and military intervention in Afghanistan.

Much can be said about these moves that underscore Gorbachev's astute and skillful method of dealing with the world, especially with the Arabs. But more importantly, Gorbachev is moving silently and achieving good results with every move. If he has convinced the iron lady, Margaret Thatcher, that she was in the presence of a leadership seeking the friendship of everyone, will he fail to convince the reluctant Arabs to start a dialogue with him?

The answer here is not definite, but it is certain that this type of ruler possesses qualities that enables him to win the hearts that used to belong exclusively to America and the West in general.

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SENIOR OPPOSITION FIGURE CLARIFIES POLITICAL STANDS

Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic 26 Apr 87 pp 16-18

[Interview with Labor Party Leader Ibrahim Shukri by Muhammad Khalafallah: "The New Opposition Leader in the People's Assembly: A Religious State Is Not in Keeping with Religion"]

[Text] The new opposition leader in the People's Assembly, Eng Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Labor Party and long-standing parliamentarian, has managed skillfully to lead the trilateral alliance which embraces the Labor and Liberal Parties along with the Moslem Brothers. Through this new alliance, he has managed to obtain the most seats in the People's Assembly after the National Party, which gained the majority in the new assembly, and he has also managed to acquire leadership of the opposition for the new People's Assembly session. Here, in this interview, he answered many questions which he responded to frankly and clearly, and shed light on many issues which have been raised concerning the trilateral alliance and its future.

Many are the questions Eng Ibrahim Shukri answered on the slogan "Islam is the solution," the religious state, the application of Islamic law, the stipulations of the constitution, leadership of the opposition, the future of the trilateral alliance, the Labor Party's parliamentary contingent, national unity and other questions which are of concern to the party deputies, the parties, people interested in Islamic law and the broad masses.

[Question] How have you followed the election struggle, as the leader of the trilateral alliance and as a Labor Party candidate?

[Answer] I followed the struggle, followed the preliminary results, which we received from various governorates in turn, and with great astonishment received the figures which the Ministry of the Interior had broadcast, that the labor lists obtained just 56 seats, while the information we had in light of the rules of law indicated that we had obtained 76 seats. Therefore, the first thing I did was to hold an emergency meeting of the legal group in the party and the alliance and some top legal figures to discuss ways by which we could manage to establish the figures and indicators which were available to us, which were also published in the daily papers that were following the elections. The opinion was that we should file an urgent

lawsuit with the administrative judiciary against the minister of interior's decree. The case actually was filed and a date was set for it last Tuesday for issuance of a ruling before the beginning of the assembly session.

[Question] What are the urgent tasks you carried out after the announcement of the election results and before the start of the assembly session?

[Answer] I had to remedy the effects of some incidents and the results of some acts of violence which occurred against the Labor Party candidates and supporters, by making inquiries in person, by telephone contact or by visits to them in their districts in the governorates, as happened with the party candidates in al-Minufiyah and Tanta, then to remedy some conditions peculiar to these candidates who had obtained the highest votes but were deprived of their seats as a result of the replacement of workers by groups and the attempt to assert that the execution of the legal rule was not meant as retaliation against them. More than 15 members who had been candidates in the lists actually did meet and found that they had been deprived of the results of the victory. We arranged the situation so that they would enter into the case that was filed out of solidarity with the party, and I called for a press conference in which the representatives of the alliance stated their observations on the course and results of the election campaign. Contacts are underway with the party candidates who won to hold a meeting of the party's parliamentary contingent to coordinate the requests for their inclusion in the various assembly committees when the convening of the session begins.

Leadership of the Opposition -- For Whom!

[Question] Has there been coordination among the parties of the alliance within the Labor Party following the appearance of the results?

[Answer] I consider that there must be permanent coordination among the parties to the alliance, as happened with respect to the need for coordinating in order that the Labor Party's parliamentary contingent could be represented in all the assembly's committees, out of concern on our part for performance of our duty and followup and discussion of what is presented to the assembly from the start of discussion and submission to the committees to the discussion in the assembly halls. Therefore, I met with our brother alliance members, visited the general guide of the Moslem Brothers and Mr Mustafa Kamil Murad, leader of the Liberal Party, and contacted Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il for an exchange of views regarding issues related to the Labor Party parliamentary contingent's performance of its role in the assembly. There was no difference regarding views, since there is a program on which agreement has been reached which the alliance presented to the people and on the basis of which it received the people's confidence regarding the seats it obtained or ought to have obtained. We held two meetings for this purpose.

[Question] Has agreement been reached on the choice of opposition leader, prior to the start of the parliamentary session?

[Answer] The august brothers have excused me from discussing this subject. Their approach has been that I should lead the alliance within the assembly.

That is the only recommendation which has been made. However, I, for my part, have recommended that all issues of importance be the subject of consultation with the other parties inside and outside the assembly.

[Question] What is your opinion on what the Wafd leaders are stating, to the effect that they will lead the opposition in the assembly, because they have obtained a greater percentage of seats than what the Labor Party obtained by itself, since what Labor obtained represents what the alliance obtained as a group?

[Answer] All the people who ran as candidates on the Labor Party lists are members of the party and do not have present membership in another party. In their totality they represent the Labor Party's parliamentary contingent, constitute the majority of the opposition and have the right to lead the opposition in the assembly. The members whose names were announced by the Ministry of the Interior are all under the title of the Socialist Labor Party.

And the Independents?

[Question] What about the Liberal Party and the Moslem Brothers?

[Answer] With respect to the Society of Moslem Brothers, they do not have a party. Rather, they are members of the Labor Party. The same with the Liberal Party members in the alliance who were elected on the Labor Party lists. They are now members of the Labor Party. I believe the members who were elected to individual seats from the Liberal Party can have a Liberal Party parliamentary contingent and have a spokesman in its name within the assembly. The independent members whom the Labor Party supported during the election campaign can be combined with them.

[Question] Can the independents constitute a parliamentary contingent within the assembly?

[Answer] One of the rules in effect in the assembly formed in 1984 was that the parliamentary contingents would be representative of parties whose lists had won, or some of whose members had been appointed to the assembly, since there were no candidates for individual seats. However, in this assembly there then were members who had been elected to individual seats or who were independents, and I believe that they have the right to have a parliamentary contingent, or at least choose people to speak for them if they so agree.

[Question] It was the view of Shaykh Yusuf al-Badri that Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il should head up the opposition in the People's Assembly. What is your view?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is an exceptional leader, one who has always played a part in past sessions, and has been anxious to pass comment and advocate the application of Islamic law. There is no doubt that he will always be appreciated by all the persons in the alliance, and it might be beneficial that the alliance be represented by more than one representative in the general assembly committee and that the

alliance have two members rather than one, as a result of Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il's representing the Liberal Party parliamentary contingent in the assembly.

[Question] Shaykh Yusuf al-Badri declared that he will run as a candidate for the chairmanship of the assembly. What is your view?

[Answer] I believe that consultation must take place on this issue among the parties to the alliance, indeed within the opposition as a whole. In my opinion, we must wait to see who in the National Party will be chosen to head up the assembly.

[Question] Will the alliance nominate one of its members to the chairmanship of the assembly?

[Answer] This will depend on the figure the National Party chooses for the assembly chairmanship.

[Question] Do you believe that the opposition candidate for the chairmanship of the assembly could have won?

[Answer] I believe not, because the majority sides with the National Party. Nonetheless, I would prefer that the day come in which all the parliamentary contingents consult in choosing the chairman of the assembly, since it is a laudable tradition in many democratic countries that this position should be the subject of agreement and that the conduct of the person on whom the honor of the choice for this position lies should be neutral with respect to the parties and blocs present in the assembly. He is chairman of the whole assembly, not chairman of part of the assembly. In some countries, among them England, the chairman of the assembly need not be from the ruling party or the majority party.

[Question] How will coordination take place among the leaders and members of the alliance within the assembly? When will this coordination appear?

[Answer] Through the organization of activity within the parliamentary contingent so that there will be periodic meetings at specific intervals before the meeting of the sessions and the distribution of tasks in terms of the discussion of the various specialized "subjects" among the members, to be helped by some colleagues outside the parliamentary contingent. This coordination could appear at the outset of activities, upon review of the budget. I have great hope that the budget will be submitted at the time the constitution has stipulated and that it will be submitted with its detailed figures so that there will be adequate close examination in the discussion of the budget.

[Question] There now is a large percentage of People's Assembly members who represent the Islamic religious current. What is the effect of the existence of this percentage on the activities of the assembly, in your view?

[Answer] I have an observation on this question. I can say that there is a large number of people demanding that the stipulation of the constitution,

which was already amended, in 1979, that Islamic law is the basic source of legislation, be put into effect. Therefore I say that it would be logical that this stipulation be taken into consideration in everything presented to the assembly on which agreement is requested, whether that is connected to the new laws, to amendments in laws or bills or to the approval of agreements.

[Question] Do you believe that the presence of such a number of representatives of the religious current in the People's Assembly will have its effect on the assembly's parliamentary tendency and will be a legislative body oriented toward the religious approach?

[Answer] I object that the subject of the discussion should concern the religious tendency, but what I do agree with is the discussion of legislation which is in keeping with what has appeared in the Koran, the sayings and doings of the prophet and Islamic law.

[Question] What is your view regarding the legislative efforts which were previously made under the rotunda of the assembly in order to clean up the secular laws so that they would be in keeping with Islamic law?

[Answer] These efforts were actually good, laudable ones, and the people who carried them out and exerted efforts in their regard should be rewarded for them. This effort was represented by the formation of a special committee at the highest level in the assembly, since it was under the chairmanship of the chairman of the assembly himself, Dr Sufi Abu Talib, with various leaders in the assembly as members, in addition to legal figures specializing in law and Islamic jurisprudence, in addition to the efforts and review of the board of senior religious scholars and the noble al-Azhar, which gave an idea of the government's concern regarding the execution of the contents of the constitution. What I do know is that there has been a review of a large portion of the laws on which a review was begun in the specialized committees and the legislative committee.

In Favor of the Masses' Desire

[Question] What has been the echo of these efforts among the advocates of the religious currents?

[Answer] The echo was good, but all this stopped with the beginning of the new assembly elected in 1984, which Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub headed up. It was noted that when this question was raised concerning the fate of this legislation, Dr al-Mahjub's reply at that time was that there were no proposals of laws before the assembly committees, and he did not mention anything concerning this special committee and the effort it had exerted in the previous session. This created an impression among the masses that there was a tendency not to proceed with the review of the laws, creating anxiety and negative repercussions among the people asking for and enthusiastic about the application of Islamic law.

[Question] Do you consider that the committee to review the laws and purge them of the flaws which conflict with Islamic law will return?

[Answer] In my opinion, bringing back this committee will have its good effect on the atmosphere in which the dialogue over treatment of the issue of carrying out what the constitution has stipulated must take place, and I believe that it is desirable that a dialogue on this subject take place with the National Party, because the objective is not to raise the subject of the application of Islamic law in the assembly hall just for provocation, or to record a position; rather, what is desired is attainment of the best means for completing the effort which has already been made as soon as the assembly convenes and to continue to review all the laws and bills so that they will be in keeping with the stipulation of the constitution. The talk about the need for stability encourages me in this. I believe that one cause for stability will be for us to carry out the stipulations of the constitution regarding the most important subject, which is the laws which govern society, and amend them in a manner which will be in keeping with the constitution and the desire of the masses.

[Question] Do you believe that the presence of a strong Islamic current within the assembly will give this current an opportunity to demand the establishment of a religious state, of which they have spoken a great deal?

[Answer] The stipulations that exist in the constitution are adequate. The constitution stipulates that the religion of the state is Islam and that Islamic law is the major source of legislation, and these are adequate stipulations. As for the expression "religious state," that is an expression which in my opinion is not in keeping with the Islamic religion. Islam consists of religion and state, forms of worship and dealings. The provisions which have appeared in the Koran and are connected with dealings are many times more numerous than those which have appeared that concern forms of worship, and this allows us to dispense with the notion of the religious state, because the establishment of a religious state is not in keeping with the Islamic religion, because all citizens are equal under the aegis of Islamic society, whether they are Moslems or people of holy books.

[Question] Do you believe in the validity of what some people are reiterating, that the slogan "Islam is the solution" means the demand for the establishment of a religious state?

[Answer] To say that the slogan we have raised, that Islam is the solution, means the establishment of a religious state is to put a superficial cast on things. There are various rules on dealings in Islam, in terms of economics and society, the balance between the rights of the individual and the group, the rules of equality and equal opportunities, the government's vouchsafing of everyone who lives under its aegis from birth to old age, the advocacy of work and the development of life, self-reliance and the citizen's feeling of his freedom and identity, the holding of rulers to account, the sanctification of public property, every official's sense of his responsibility ("you are all shepherds and all responsible for your flock"), having money increase and grow not through usury but through lawful means, whether that be trade, investment or the provision of work opportunities, the right of every citizen to an honorable life and the provision of the basic materials of life, their right to housing, and the sanctity and sanctification of the home -- all these are basic conditions which Islam has guaranteed, and

therefore I say that those people who talk about Islam as just Islamic penalties, the cutting off of the hands of a thief or the stoning of an adulterer, or that it is discrimination between Moslems and non-Moslems, are unfair, because they do not know the truth about Islam.

[Question] How then can we protect the nation and realize national unity?

[Answer] I do not wholly believe in the need to be concerned about national unity. Rather, when we reiterate in our program that the Coptic brothers are entitled to what we are entitled to and have the obligations that we have, we mean that totally and the Labor Party's concern has therefore been that one of the party members and one of its leaders, Jamal As'ad 'Abd-al-Mallak, should be at the head of our lists in Asyut. I am happy and proud of his success. He is at the head of a list in which all the rest are Moslems, some of whom are well known for their adherence to Islamic law and the sayings and doings of the prophet. Indeed, we have challenged the other parties which entered the elections to present this picture, by which we are fully applying what we believe in — that they are entitled to what we are entitled to and have the obligations that we have — and his success in Asyut has great significance because he is expressing the truth and the essence of the Egyptian people; they are a devout people, but not fanatic, and they are against extremism in all orientations.

[Question] What in your opinion is the significance of the victory of well known symbols who are the children of former leaders and are related to famous figures, such as Majdi Ahmad Husayn, the son of the leader of Young Egypt, the late Ahmad Husayn, Ahmad Sayf-al-Islam Hasan al-Banna, the son of the former guide Shaykh Hasan al-Banna, and Counsellor Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, the son of the Brothers' luminary Hasan al-Hudaybi?

[Answer] I consider that this entails a regard for figures, leaders and chiefs who had an effect in Egyptian society and that while they did not get their share of honor and regard in their lives, the people are reviewing the matter and apologizing to them by esteeming them and giving confidence to their sons, who have come forth to receive the people's confidence. I am most happy about the grant of this honor, praying almighty glorious God that he will give them success in being worthy of the names they bear and the trust of the people for whom they bear it.

[Question] What is your view regarding the distribution of seats among the parties to the alliance in the People's Assembly? How much has each party obtained, with respect to the lists or with respect to individual seats?

[Answer] My view is that the proper description is that they are all members of the Labor Party's parliamentary contingent and that they are all connected to a program which they have been content with and are anxious to rally around and whose goals they are anxious to achieve.

No Room for Dominance

Therefore, I am not at all concerned to attempt to make a close study of shares or numbers. In my opinion, they do not prove anything, since the

lists were composite ones that were drawn up in the course of many individual thoughts so that they would be acceptable and attract the greatest degree of confidence among the people. A person who casts his vote casts it not so much for a person on the list as for the whole list. As far as ranking winners and tabulating their numbers goes, there is no benefit in that.

[Question] Has the share of seats distributed among the parties to the alliance differed from the percentages that were realized following the elections?

[Answer] It is well known that the rules of the game of the law on elections, although its sources have dried up, make the person who is fourth in the list a winner while the top person does not win. The issue does not concern the quantity or the arrangement of the lists, and being at the head of the list or middle of it is no longer a condition for victory. Rather, the fact is that although the announcement was made that they had won about 60 seats in addition to individual seats, the Labor lists deserved twice that number. The important thing as far as we are concerned is that absolutely every neutral analyst of what came out of the meetings the alliance arranged, in taking the view of the people in the rural areas before the urban areas, and in the urban areas before the rural areas, said that the alliance had the bulk of the support -- not excepting the National Party from these estimates.

[Question] Do you believe that dominance will belong to the party which has the greatest number of seats in the assembly or that it will be a relative matter?

[Answer] My estimation and knowledge of the composition of the alliance, and the people representing it in the assembly, will prove with God's permission that the Labor Party's parliamentary contingent will be exemplary in its performance of its duty and in its organization. We entered the assembly in order to serve our program and principles, and are not people who take a personal view or assess things in a selfish manner. Therefore, there is no place for talk about the dominance of one party by another or one wing by another.

[Question] Do you believe that the idea of the alliance will endure? Specifically, do you consider that it will be able to endure until the end of the assembly session?

Continuation of the Alliance

[Answer] It is circumstances outside the framework of the alliance in my opinion which have led to this alliance. I believe that these circumstances will endure. Consequently, the alliance will endure, God willing, and the objective reasons which have enabled the parties to the alliance to agree on the program of the alliance and win the parties over to this program are ones which can endure if everyone is sincere in his service to the program. As for the distant future, that will be yielded up by the changes that can occur in the circumstances surrounding party practice and the effect of the changes which can occur with respect to the election laws and the freedom of

forming parties, which will make the failure to enter into alliances propitious.

[Question] What is your view regarding the statement attributed to Shaykh Muhammad Hamid Abu al-Nasr, the general guide of the Moslem Brothers, that the Brothers will subsequently review the notion whether the alliance should endure or not?

[Answer] This statement might have been attributed to the general guide of the Moslem Brothers when the notion of the alliance first arose. In my opinion, were he to be asked today he would make a statement more inclined to great optimism over the continuation of the alliance.

[Question] Do you consider that the Labor Party can be totally assimilated into the trilateral alliance?

[Answer] Life is governed by recognized rules. "As we exert ourselves, so shall we achieve results." "As we sacrifice ourselves, so may we reap." "As we pay the price, so will we realize success." Therefore I can say that if some Labor Party personnel have become confident that they have achieved a success which might prompt them to put reliance on this result, that will constitute a threat for them and the party. If they do not exert redoubled efforts, do not appreciate their responsibility and appreciate that they have become the second party after the National Party, they will be deficient vis-a-vis themselves and vis-a-vis the party.

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RELIGIOUS LEADER SPEAKS AGAINST RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 29 Apr 87 pp 12, 13

[Interview with Shaykh Jadd al-Haqq 'Ali Jadd al-Haqq, Sheykh of al-Azhar, by Hasan 'Allam: "The Shaykh of Al-Azhar Talks to AKHIR SA'AH in Ramadan about Religious Extremism and Factional Strife"]

[Text] What does his eminence the senior imam, Shaykh Jadd-al-Haqq 'Ali Jadd-al-Haqq, the Sheikh of al-Azhar, say about the phenomenon of religious extremism and its scope among our young people? Has it been cured in the past period by persuasive means or must these be magnified in the coming stage?

What about the specter of factional strife which raises its head from time to time? How can we prevent what has happened as a blow against national unity from recurring?

His eminence the senior imam, in his important conversation with AKHIR SA'AH, dealt with a number of important issues, among them:

The sanctity of freedom of religious belief among moderates and fanatics, the exercise of religious judgment, whether the doors to the pursuit of individual judgment have been closed in the modern era, and what the conditions for this are.

The issue of mysticism, its pros and cons, the difference that exists between mystics and rationalists and the conditions of famous reciters and their exaggerated compensation, to the point where they demand thousands of pounds for a few set hours and their entire distinction is clarity of voice alone!

Concerning the rejection by the rulers of Iran of the Gulf armistice and cease fire in Ramadan, their characterization of the Sheykh of al-Azhar as stubborn and the disdain for the appeal to Moslems for the rejuvenation of Moslems in the fast month.

His eminence the senior imam referred to the issue of the dispute over determining the beginning of the Arab months and the month of Ramadan, the

sole solution for resolving this dispute being to establish an Islamic observatory in Mecca.

The sheikh of al-Azhar concluded his conversation by sending greetings to the Islamic world and the Egyptian people in particular at the advent of the blessed month of Ramadan.

I asked his eminence the senior imam:

"What is the magnitude of the phenomenon of 'extremism' among some of our young people? Who is responsible for it? Has it been cured in the past period by persuasive means or must these be magnified in the coming stage?"

The sheykh of al-Azhar replied:

"The issue of extremism should be considered a global one which has encompassed all peoples for various reasons which differ from people to people. It is necessary to study the reasons for extremism in a detailed form so that we can arrive at the proper scientific remedy. Declaring that 'extremism' exists in specific focal points and failing to learn about the motives and reasons for this extremism or its source makes the remedy a difficult one. It would be more worthwhile for officials, who consist of numerous bodies, to seek the causes of this extremism in a carefully thought out, specific manner, whether they are religious, economic or social tendencies, all this because determining the ailment is half the cure.

"I believe that the scope of extremism among our young people is not vast but the young people who are described as extremist are a group who are inclined toward religious devotion, their assumption of religious devotion takes the form of violence, and the extremism might be due to other circumstances which do not infringe on religion or are because of it. The treatment of this phenomenon has taken place in two areas, first conduct from which harm has resulted and second the thinking which has led to this conduct. Al-Azhar has not and will never be absent from the stage in confronting this phenomenon."

The Specter of Factional Strife

[Question] The specter of strife which looms over us from time to time as a blow against national unity — how can we prevent the recurrence of what has happened, and how can we remove the issue of religious fanaticism from some people's hearts?

His eminence the imam replied:

"Religious devotion is one thing and fanaticism is something else. Religious devotion is something that is desired and desirable. As for fanaticism and the attempt to fight with others or commit aggression, that is something that is rejected in every religion. Therefore, I believe that the motives for what happened arose from the 'elections' which took place and the goal was to divert people from the exercise of their rights and to preoccupy the authorities responsible for the mission of the elections through these incidents.

"The issue in itself is alien to the people of Egypt. History tells us that the Egyptians rarely differed because of religion. They were always Egyptians, cooperating, and the differences which might have occurred were like what happens among brothers. A difference might occur between two Christian brothers or two Moslem brothers, then this difference would develop."

[Question] How has Islam acknowledged freedom of religious belief? The moderates have their argument, the holy verse "There is no compulsion regarding religion, uprightness has been made distinct from tyranny." The fanatics have another Koranic argument, "Whoso desires another religion than Islam, that will not be accepted of him, and in the hereafter he will be among the losers." Could we, your eminence the imam, settle this issue?

His eminence the senior imam, Shaykh Jadd-al-Haqq 'Ali Jadd-al-Haqq, the sheykh of al-Azhar, said:

"The holy Koran, in its numerous verses, is explicit regarding the principle that belief is an option. The Koran tells the prophet of God (on whom be God's prayers and peace) 'Will you compel people to be believers?' in addition to the verse which you mentioned in your question, which is, 'There is no compulsion in religion,' and many other verses besides this which prove that Islam does not compel anyone to follow it or join it.

"Islam consists of faith and the pursuit of almighty glorious God. Faith and pursuit will not be established through compulsion; rather, that will be an Islam of appearances which has no reality and that is not Islam.

"It has not been proved that the Moslems, in their past and present history, compelled anyone to join Islam. Rather, the people who joined Islam volunteered and did so out of satisfaction and conviction which ended up with a belief by virtue of which they converted to Islam. The people who consider that non-Moslems must join Islam are wrong, because that is remote from the spirit and judgment of Islam."

The Pursuit of Individual Judgment in the Modern Era

[Question] Your eminence the senior imam:

Almighty God has found extremism in judgment and fanaticism over an opinion of individual thought repugnant, in order that dissension may be prevented. Does that mean that the gates to individual judgment with respect to religion have been closed or that conditions are attached to it?

[Answer] The pursuit of individual judgment in the sense of deriving legal verdicts from their original sources in Islam is assigned to a group to which glorious God has given specialisation. It is this class to which God has granted the pursuit of individual judgment and the deduction of provisions. Not every Moslem is fit to deduce provisions or exercise individual judgment, because just as people who are not doctors may not practice medicine, in the sense that doctors have studied medical sciences and become engaged in them until they have become doctors, likewise, people who have not become qualified and come to have the power of pursuing individual

judgment in order to deduce provisions in Islamic law similarly may not render judgments regarding religion.

The pursuit of individual judgment is a gate that has not been closed, but where are the people pursuing it?

[Question] God has bestowed on Egypt a plethora of memorizers and proficient readers of the holy Koran and it has been said that the Koran was revealed in Mecca, read out in Egypt and memorized in Istanbul. Is this statement correct?

The senior imam said,

"No one must deny the right of the Islamic peoples to have memorized the Koran and preserved it. Although Egypt has become specialized with its many memorizers and their reading of the Koran, and their aptitude for the readings and science of it, that is one of God's bounties to Egypt and the Egyptians were not granted this bounty by anyone, but thank God for it and ask that it may endure. Indeed, the Egyptians and al-Azhar in particular must work to have this blessing permanently remain constant and stable on Egypt's behalf."

The Millionaire Reciters

[Question] Does the imam of the Moslems agree with the conditions of the famous reciters today, who have become millionaires, whose skill is reciting the Koran and who demand thousands of pounds for a few limited hours for any occasion they are invited to liven, just because God has bestowed clarity of voice on them only?

His eminence the sheykh of al-Azhar replied,

"Reading the Koran is a legitimate matter, indeed desirable. The prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) said, 'No people were gathered in one of the homes of God, reading God's book and carefully studying it among themselves where repose did not descend among them, the angel did not surround them and God did not mention him among those in his presence.' Meeting to hear the Koran, with its conditions and morality, is a legitimate, desirable thing, but for a reader to demand compensation or to agree to it is something the provisions of Islamic law do not endorse, not to speak about the excesses in this compensation. I believe that the matter must be reviewed by the requester and the person requested!"

[Question] The issue of mysticism. There are researchers who spurn mysticism and consider that it is not necessary for this modern era. There is a dispute between the mystics and the rationalists, who consider that God has given us intelligence by which to be guided to him, and if we are negligent, as the Sufis are, we have neglected God's greatest bounty and gift to us. What is your opinion regarding this?

The sheykh of al-Azhar resolved this dispute by his statement:

"Pure mysticism is legitimate because it strives for purity of the soul, strength of faith, the proper pursuit of obedience to God and good dealings

with people, and it does not conflict with the mind, because the sound, upright mind does not conflict with religion and many things are absent from the powers of the mind in this existence and life which it must draw from elsewhere. These others are the prophets and their seal, the prophet of God Muhammad (on whom be God's prayers and peace), to whom God revealed religion so that he could bring people out of the shadows into the light.

"Thus the mind does not conflict with pure mysticism, and apathy, abstinence from work or the quest for sustenance or the manifestation of these phenomena which you see in some places are not part of pure mysticism. Rather, true mysticism is faith and work.

"It was related that one person was sitting in the mosque to worship and was asked, 'Who spends on you?' The person said, 'My brother,' and was told, 'Your brother is more devout than you are.' 'Umar, may God be content with him, expelled people if he saw them abstaining from the quest for sustenance and said that the skies do not rain gold or silver. Thus the prophet of God (on whom be God's prayers and peace) in his teachings and the disciplining of his companions would guide them and direct them toward work and gain, and none of them abstained from acquiring his sustenance except for reasons which would prohibit that."

The Obstinacy of Iran's Rulers

I asked the sheykh of al-Azhar:

"Have all the efforts on the part of the religious scholars of Islam to stop the ongoing Iraqi-Iranian war which has entered its seventh year failed? How does his eminence the sheykh of al-Azhar explain the rejection of the appeal for a 'truce' in the blessed month of Ramadan by Iran's rulers?"

His eminence the imam said,

"Al-Azhar's efforts in that, like other efforts, have come up against the rigidity of the Iranian position, its alienation from the appeals and acts of mediation which have been made to bring a halt to the war and sit down to arbitration, and Iran's insistence on this position, which has brought all these efforts to a halt, although Iraq has shown and continues to show acceptance of the cease fire and willingness to sit down to peace and arbitration. The most recent stubborn position of the Iranian officials was the rejection of the recommendation for a 'truce' for the war in the month of Ramadan, and that is something which is detrimental to all Moslems!"

[Question] What would the imam of the Moslems, the sheykh of al-Azhar, tell the Islamic world in general and the Egyptian people in particular at the beginning of the month of Ramadan?

[Answer] The reform of our Islamic nation is contingent on its return to its essence and its Islamic roots, to uprightness along God's straight path as God said: "And that this is my path, a straight one, and follow it and do not follow paths which will cause you to disperse from his path. That he has charged you with: perhaps you will be pious." If we return to this straight

path, life will be upright for us and our affairs will be upright for us. If we take up all our affairs with the thinking of Islam in daily life, in dealings, in morality, in the family, in the school and in the factory, and if each one of us knows his rights and duties, that will lead to the reform of our conditions, to more cooperation among ourselves in spite of the difference among our peoples and to the narrowing of the rift in disputes over opinions regarding many things which we differ over. That is what this holy verse warned us about. I tell the Egyptian people, happy holidays and I call on God to make Ramadan a blessed, good month in which we will accept our religion, Islam, act through it, abstain from profligacy and spending on what is not required, appreciate the economic circumstances our country is passing through, not burden ourselves and not burden our country's budget, but indeed economize, and economize in order that we may live in the scope of our resources and not have to become indebted to one place or another, and each one of us, in his own place, must exert the maximum effort to produce and work so that our economic affairs will be settled and we will reach safe shores, God willing.

[Question] The dispute over determination of the beginning of the fast month in the Islamic year still is an issue which haunts Moslems, and it is not seemly that we should fast in Egypt today while a fraternal country fasted yesterday and another Islamic country will fast tomorrow. Could we resolve this matter, which presents itself every year?

The senior imam replied,

"This issue is an old one. From the Islamic view, the individual theories of jurists have differed with respect to it. Some consider that there is no moral implication in the difference in times of moonrise, in the sense that when the sighting of the crescent has been established and the month of Ramadan has been determined in an Islamic country in a lawful manner, the people of this country, and thus the people of a country in whose jurisdiction or area the sighting occurs, must fast. Some jurists consider that the difference in times of moonrise is a relevant thing, in the sense that every country follows its own moonrise or sighting.

"The conference of Moslems held in the 'Academy of Islamic Research' in Cairo took its decision that the sighting or search for the finding of the crescent is the main point, and that when the sighting is established in a country the country which shares part of the night with it must fast.

"The issue of ending this dispute will be realized by having the Islamic world direct itself toward unity in this matter and having an Islamic observatory established which will be assigned the task of determining the search for the finding of the crescent each month, determining the advent of the month of Ramadan and the other lunar months and determining the other times for all Moslems in all areas of the world. Perhaps the place in which this observatory must be established is Mecca or in the area around it, since it is the country of the direction of prayer, and this observatory will seek the finding through scientific Islamic astronomical calculations and its decree will be binding on everyone. That will occur if the Islamic conference organization, as the international Islamic organization, takes a binding decree on this and establishes this observatory."

The Fast Was Made Obligatory Prior to Islam

[Question] The holy verse says, "The fast was decreed for you, as it was decreed for the people prior to you." Does that mean that fasting was made obligatory before Islam for the communities that came before?

[Answer] Yes, the fast, as the Koran says, was imposed on communities that came before, but whether that was the month of Ramadan or something else may not be an important thing. Rather, the important thing is that the verse declares that the fast is an old obligation and that it existed in prior forms of religious law. With respect to the Moslems, the fast is the month of Ramadan and it is a complete fast in the sense of abstinence from food and drink from the true dawn to the sunset.

[Question] It is well known that the great October victory in 1973 was realized in Ramadan. Are there other Islamic offensives which the Moslems embarked on in the fast month?

His eminence the sheykh of al-Azhar smiled with his tolerant expression and said:

"Yes, yes, the fast month has always been a time for victory among Moslems. The great Badr offensive, the first war in Islam, occurred during it. The people of Mecca, before entering into Islam, wanted to put an end to Islam in its cradle in Madinah, but what a small group overcame a large one, with God's permission!

"The victory of Mecca was also in Ramadan. Moreover, the revelation of the Koran was in the month of Ramadan.

"We cannot forget the great Islamic victory in our modern era on 10 Ramadan 1393. It will continue to be remembered in history, same as all the victories of the Moslems which took place in the month of Ramadan.

"On top of all this, the month of Ramadan itself is a victory over the self and compulsion of the self to obey almighty glorious God, submit to his orders and abandon its appetites and desires during the month of Ramadan."

Egypt's Islamic Leadership

The final question I directed to his eminence the sheykh of al-Azhar:

"Do you consider that the reason for Egypt's leadership of the Islamic world is the presence of the noble al-Azhar on its territory, or that there are other factors which support its status among the nations?"

His eminence the senior imam, Shaykh Jadd-al-Haqq 'Ali Jadd-al-Haqq, the sheykh of al-Azhar, replied:

"There is no doubt that al-Azhar is one of the most important factors in Egypt's vanguard position in the Islamic world, although Egypt, by virtue of its position and its adherence to and defense of Islam in numerous stages of

history, has also assumed this vanguard position through this effort which it has exerted in protecting Islam and the land of Islam in numerous stages of history, perhaps one of the most important of which being that it was the one which stood up to the Mongols and the crusaders in past centuries. Al-Azhar continues to lead the course of Islamic culture in the Islamic world and the course of education as well, and its men and religious scholars are spread about in the Islamic countries. These countries' students are still coming to the noble al-Azhar to drink from its learning, then return to their people, proselytizing and exhorting.

"The role of al-Azhar has not been restricted to Arabic and Islamic legal sciences only, but, since its establishment, it has been the only cultural body and the various sciences which are increasing and changing from age to age have been studied in al-Azhar: mathematics, medicine, engineering and astronomy, at various levels.

"Al-Azhar led the Moslems against the colonial movements to which the various Islamic peoples were subjected. The men and the leaders of Al-Azhar in Egypt were these people's leaders in the confrontation with aggressors on the land of Egypt and the Islamic world. If the Islamic countries, and they were many, requested liberation and were liberated from military and political occupation, al-Azhar is performing its role in establishing this independence and deepening its roots by spreading Arabic and Islamic legal sciences which drive people to preserve their independence and freedom and their preservation of their religion. Therein lies Egypt's vanguard position and its status with respect to the Islamic world."

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DUTIES, ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TEAM COMMAND DESCRIBED

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 7 Apr 87 p 11

[Article by Yahya Kazim al-Najjar: "AL-THAWRAH Spends a Full Day With Comrades in the Flagpole Team in Umm Qasr"]

[Text] In the far south of the country, AL-THAWRAH's delegation spent a whole day in a distinguished team of the party, the Flagpole Team, in the city of Umm Qasr, a heroic city which has been going through an exceptional military situation since the fighting after al-Faw. On the day the frustrated enemy was broadcasting false statements claiming the occupation of Umm al-Qasr, the people were laughing at and ridiculing these slanderous statements, which have no existence except in the imagination of wretched swindlers. Since that time, the people of Umm Qasr have been in a state of maximum preparedness and readiness to face any emergency and are living in an advanced military state alongside our armed forces' fighting men.

Through this rapid portrait of the situation in Umm Qasr, we can draw a model picture of a people who are living, building and fighting. The party team here is most active and self-sacrificing. It is composed of six party organizations which are responsible for security, military and logistical considerations and the care of Basrah families in addition to organizational and party affairs. Therefore, the activity of the party team is ramified and multifaceted in numerous areas which always require alertness, awareness and the exertion of exceptional efforts to deal with all matters in all circumstances. The party team has performed its role in full and has been innovative with respect to all the additional tasks assigned to it. When we asked our comrade the Basrah branch command secretary to choose a party team for us in order to write such an article, he immediately referred to the Flagpole Team which has received many letters of thanks and expressions of esteem in acknowledgment and appreciation of the efforts and perseverant, unremitting labor the team has carried out to perform the duties and tasks assigned to it.

The Party Guard

After this introduction, which has been necessary, let us return to our article, which we are writing on the occasion of the 40th birthday of our great party: "a day in a party team."

In the night of Friday, 20 March, we went to Umm Qasr and arrived at the party organization. There to meet us were Comrade Walid 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Hamdani, secretary of the team command, Comrade Muhammad Sa'id Thujayl, deputy secretary of the team command, and Comrade Muhammad Jum'ah Taha, team command member. After a short rest in which welcoming and protocol formalities took place and delicious Basrah tea was drunk, we began the job and asked the comrade and secretary team command to present us with a brief review of the team's activities and tasks. We started off first of all with the party guard. He said:

"In general, we are living in a border area with respect to the land and sea. Therefore, the team command and party apparatus give major importance to security considerations, in addition to the military ones and the service of combat and our heroic armed forces. The importance of the party guard is derived from this situation, since the first watch is assumed at 0730 hours in the morning in the headquarters of the team, in addition to other watches in the other six organizations. The morning watch lasts until 1400 hours in the afternoon, when the watch is handed over to another comrade until 1630 hours, after which begins the evening watch, which is assumed by two comrades of team member rank until the morning of the following day. To that is added an adequate number of fighting comrades who stand watch in the team and the other organizations and engage in patrol, inspection and guard activities, with all their weapons and distinctive military uniform. They are also assigned all powers to deal with emergencies and other cases. We ourselves, the secretary of the team command and the secretary of the people's command, are in a state of permanent alert. Everything here is organized and classified. There are special registers for watchmen, guards and foot and evening patrols. There also is the system of rapid telephone communication with all party and military commands in addition to patrols within the geographic location. All these things are recorded in special registers. We have benefitted from the visit by the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, to the al-Ma'mun branch, and we have taken it as a program of action by which we are proceeding in an organized, coordinated fashion."

A Vigilant Military People

The team command secretary added, "On top of that, we are all a vigilant organized military people who are prepared for every emergency. The party school has taught us, and the experiences and circumstances of war have given us the expertise, to be indeed a military people building, fighting and struggling at the same time. Standing watch, in this sense, has combative educational and military benefits in addition to being a party and national obligation.

"The team command, in every town, forms a people's army grouping through which it gives political guidance lectures. Then after that inspections are made of military uniforms and weapons. During it, exceptional cases are rewarded. The grouping begins in accordance with special ceremonies, since the camp is decorated with Iraqi slogans and flags and loudspeakers are set up. When the preparations begin, the Iraqi national anthem is sung, then the fighting men read out the oath of the people of Basrah, a special oath which

Comrade Mizban Khidr Hadi, member of the regional command and secretary of the office of the southern organization in the party organizations, and the masses of the people of Basra repeated last June on the occasion of the special mobilization, when the masses of Basrah volunteered to defend the city, stand up to the Iranian aggression and thwart its hostile schemes until martyrdom. The origins of this oath go back to a statement by the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, in which he described Basrah as the city of a million combatants."

Contact at 0100 Hours in the Morning

After that we asked Comrade Muhammad Sa'id Thujayl, who was guard at night on Thursday 19 March, to speak to us about his watch. He said, "When I took over the watch at night, I got in contact with the party organizations, in accordance with their sequential order, which is a tradition by which we proceed in order to inquire about these organizations' conditions, setting the number of comrades on watch and the number of fighting men, weapons, rounds and patrols down in a special register. We repeat the contact every 2 hours for reassurance and in order to deal with emergency situations. We continue in this manner until 0730 hours in the morning, when we hand the watch over to another comrade. After that, everyone goes to his normal job. On the night of Thursday 19 March 1978, at 0100 hours after midnight, Comrade Sufayh, the branch secretary, made contact and asked for Comrade Walid, the secretary of the team command. Comrade Walid was present, and he spoke with him regarding the nomination of a comrade of team member rank for enrollment in a people's army course in Baghdad preparing sector commanders. The comrade secretary of the team command immediately got in contact with Comrade Hadi, who was at home, and informed him of this nomination. Comrade Hadi enrolled in the course the morning of the following day, Friday, and went to Baghdad to start a new journey of continuous Ba'thist struggle." Here we must pause a moment to reflect: at the beginning of the article we said that Umm Qasr is a fighting military people who are prepared for every emergency and everyone is watchful and alert even if he is not on duty. Although the watch was on Thursday and the contact began at 0100 hours after midnight, everyone carried out orders. We even found the comrade who was nominated to the course preparing himself to enroll in the course in Baghdad in a few hours, although that was on Friday. This emphasizes to us the readiness of these fighting men in the Flagpole Team constantly to continue and measure up to the tasks the current stage requires.

This sort of happening which we learned of suddenly is one of many, numerous events and occurrences, all of which inspire pride and appreciation for these fighting men who embody principles in a splendid fashion in Umm Qasr.

A Committee To Deal with an Urgent Situation

Comrade Muhammad Jum'ah Taha was also a guard on the night of Thursday 19 March 1987 and he spoke to us about other occurrences, all of which are written down in the registry of the Thursday watch, which we read.

Comrade Muhammad said, "During the watch we review all complaints, recommendations and other matters. There are a number of citizens who refer to us

regarding legitimate issues which we immediately respond to and review as much as we can, including the legitimate requests of Basrah families. We make all possible efforts to respond to these requests and contact all the bodies concerned in the city."

Praise and Appreciation for Distinguished Efforts

As a result of these exceptional efforts and combative stands, the team has received a number of letters of thanks, appreciation and expression of esteem from a number of official bodies, and we will present examples of them which we selected since the 1986 al-Faw battles. These include:

1. On 16 February 1986, during the al-Faw battle, Comrade Mizban Khidr Hadi, regional command member and secretary of the party's organization of the south, visited the team's headquarters and sent a letter of thanks and appreciation to the comrade secretary and members of the team.
2. On 18 February 1986, the comrade members of the office of the organization of the south and the cultural official in the office command visited the cultural club and held two discussions with the members of the Wasfi Ansar group who had presented themselves. He sent a letter of thanks and appreciation to the team with a sum of money for the cultural club.
3. On 12 June 1986, as a result of the team's distinction in logistical matters in the training of male and female citizens, Comrade Mizban Khidr Hadi, regional command member and secretary of the office of the party's organization of the south, praised the efforts of the team and all the comrades and members of the team with a letter of thanks and appreciation and wristwatches. He also bestowed radios and watches and thanks and appreciation from the secretary of the team command on a number of supporters and meritorious advanced supporters.
4. On 24 January 1987, Comrade 'Abdallah Talab, secretary of the Basrah branch command, visited the team, met with the members of the team command and presented a letter of thanks and appreciation to the comrade secretary and the comrade members of the team command.
5. On 12 February 1987, a staff training officer in the regional command visited the team and sector headquarters, praised the organization and preparations and sent the team, regional commander and staff board a letter of thanks and appreciation.
6. During the annual conference of the Basrah Governorate people's army on 10 March 1987, which all the commanders of sectors of the governorate attended, a match was held in which the Umm Qasr sector performed with excellence and came in first. The commander of the region sent the people's army a letter of thanks and appreciation to the commander of the sector and the staff board.
7. Thanks and appreciation of the comrade secretary of the team command from the secretary of the branch command for the logistical excellence of the activity of fighting men in the region's sector of the people's army.

8. The efforts of two comrades in the team, Comrades Muhammad Sa'id Thujayl and Shakir 'Abd-al-Razzaq, were praised on 28 February 1987 on the basis of their commitment to all military rules.

A Concluding Tour

Thus we can see that the party team in Umm Qasr has excelled in all its activities and in the missions assigned to it and that no occasion has passed in which officials have not expressed their appreciation and praise of the efforts the comrades in belief and arms are exerting in this military region of high discipline and total commitment to everything the current stage demands.

At the conclusion of our conversations with the comrades, we made a tour in which we learned about the team's cultural club, which contains a very large hall for meetings, seminars and lectures and a library containing a large number of various political, cultural and economic books. We also inspected the arms racks and from close at hand saw how arms are placed in special areas in a good, organized order and sequence. We also observed the information room and were amazed at everything. We in turn praise and appreciate in general the distinctive, exceptional efforts our comrades in belief and combat are exerting in behalf of the service of the nation of glory and missions, great Iraq, and the service of our just struggle against the forces of backwardness, evil and racism.

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IMF TEAM CONCERNED OVER ECONOMIC TREND

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 11 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Gid'on Ashat: "Price Controls Must Be Eliminated Immediately"]

[Text] A delegation of members from the International Monetary Fund expressed their concern yesterday over economic developments in Israel during the past months, especially the deficit anticipated in the next budget.

In an interim report presented yesterday to Bank of Israel Governor Micha'el Bruno, the delegation members pointed out the following:

- Minimum wage law: poor.
- Devaluation enacted in January: good.
- Price controls: to be eliminated.
- High interest rates even in the future: advisable.
- Tax on credit in foreign currency: good.

The delegation spend 3 weeks in Israel and left Israel today.

The report that was presented supports recommendations for economic policies such as were recently proposed by the governor of the Bank of Israel. Notwithstanding this, the report criticizes the central bank for expanding credit and definitely supports an increase in interest rates, as has already occurred.

According to the delegation, the government must establish a goal for inflation that will not exceed 1 percent per month. This should be combined with the elimination of price controls. To prevent unusual increases in the index, the IMF economists recommend allowing cheap imports; to protect the high interest rate in the economy, they recommend imposing a tax on credit from abroad.

Among the other recommendations proposed by the IMF people:

- Wages: They attacked last year's wage increases. The wage increase will have a negative impact on the chances of reducing the pace of inflation. They strongly object to the proposal for a minimum wage law, which they say will actually hurt low wage earners who will find themselves out of work. These workers, they suggest, should be given tax breaks.

- Taxes: The delegates take exception to the proposed tax reform. In their opinion, the tax rate should be lowered and, at the same time, exemptions should be eliminated.

- Linkage: The suggestion was to eliminate the linkage of contracts with a duration of less than 1 year.

- Exchange rate: They take exception to the policy of establishing a fixed exchange rate that would change only infrequently. They recommend switching to a system of one minimal devaluation per month.

- Emergency plan: There is concern over anticipated developments in the budget. They also see a danger in aid planned for kibbutzim, moshavim, and other "distressed" areas. In any event, the government should grant aid according to a detailed recovery plan.

- Administration of government offices: According to their suggestions, each government office will receive a specified sum of money for the purpose of paying its employees. This sum can be divided among the body of employees. If, for example, the employees want an increase of 10 percent, they will have to agree to fire 10 percent of the employees.

The manager of the Bank of Israel research department, Mordechai Frankel, responded to the IMF report, saying that on major issues the bank is in agreement with the positions taken by the delegation. Frankel, who is thought to be close to the governor, surprised everyone by saying that, like the IMF people, he too takes exception to the tax reform proposal.

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DORON RUBIN, NEW GENERAL STAFF, PROFILED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Mar 87 (Weekend Supplement) pp 13-15

[Article by Yosef Walter: "Doron to the General Staff"]

[Text] No one was surprised when the evil tongues started wagging. It was, in fact, anticipated. Like a movie with a predetermined plot, when Doron Rubin received the rank of general, there were those who hastened to empty out their drawers and revive incidents from the Lebanon War and following, the Sultan-Ya'akov battle, the fall in Shabi of eight soldiers from Nahal, the Pioneer Combatant Youth Corps. Doron was the commander in both cases.

The rank of general was always a good topic for military gossip. One can argue whether the rank was deserved, and why another officer below him was not promoted. Doron Rubin does not lose his temper. He does not deny the truth and he will not respond to lies. Others do the job for him: Tens and hundreds of officers and soldiers, fighters and commanders who have been at his side at various points in his life admire him almost blindly. There are among them those who speak about him as "groupies" do about the rock stars who are their idols.

Doron Rubin joins the club of young Israeli-born generals around the table of the general staff who are grabbing placed from veterans. He is 42 years old, tall, with silver hair, and a rough manner of speech, somewhat arrogant. He was always known for his local patriotism to the group he commanded. There were never contenders for his battalion, brigade, or branch while he was in command. It was said of him, somewhat tongue in cheek, that in his viewpoint, the framework of his command came first, within which served, of course, the very best forces. The IDF came second....

The fresh general is the head of the training division of the general staff, not a bad job until 2 years ago. Since then, the fields services command (FSC) was established and the training division lost a great deal of authority. After General Yitzhak Mordechai left the training division for the southern command, his spot was filled by a replacement of the rank of brigadier general. In the defense network, there are those who jumped on the opportunity to dwarf the role to the proportions of a department within the operations branch. But when it came time for Rubin to get his rank, the chief of staff gave the training division false life and left it to him in its former state. There

are those who say that had another officer been chosen, the issue would not have passed quietly. Even those who are not considered among Rubin's admirers admit that an officer like Doron should sit on the general staff. He will not be the lion's tail there. He will always be found at the center of action and decisionmaking, making his personal mark on every job. Until he was appointed general, he headed the instruction and development unit of the field services command. This is the body that deals with the preparation of ground forces for the modern battlefield, the implementation of changes in ground combat, and everything that goes with it. With the establishment of the new command, Doron began developing an inter-corps and inter-branch combat cooperation philosophy. At the same time, he began analyzing the future battlefield and defining the operational needs that the IDF must develop in order to tip the scales in the next war.

In his new role, he has no problem with the authority that was taken from the training division ("I do not want to cry today over that which was taken from the training division. One must look forward.") Man makes his role. In his typical, rough, slightly arrogant way, knowing his own value, he will be concerned with staying on the map and making his voice heard. Last week already he compelled all platoon commanders and brigade commanders to participate in a combat skills competition in the IDF (he is responsible for this area). What's more, he invited all the general staff generals to conduct a "competition of generals" on the last day of the event. Only General Uri Shagai responded from the general staff. On the other hand, all the platoon commanders, brigade commanders, and branch commanders came. Many had served under Doron's command, and when Doron calls, they come. There is no need for orders.

As for the new job, he is attacking a long-term plan for the improvement of the training division in general, and in particular the field and command school and the senior command, for improving administration and control in the military branches. He intends to use computers and simulators extensively. He wants to track the progress of graduates from army boarding schools serving as officers. "Anyone who talks about the training division as a reduced body does not know what he is talking about," says General Rubin.

Apart from all that, he plans to concentrate on developing the person, his favorite subject, by increasing the soldiers' motivation and instilling values. He is a sought-after speaker who sees every invitation as an opportunity to expound on his personal philosophy. Doron knows how to hold an audience spell-bound, how to make them listen to him, and even how to arouse thought and deliberation, and he is not modest about it. He recognizes his own value and knows that he has something to sell. Son of the labor settlement, an officer who fought in many wars and actions across the borders, a charismatic commander who knows how to lead people into battle and also how to take care of them during quiet times. He knows that he represents Israel the Beautiful; the image of the handsome paratrooper, the fighter, a son that the entire people of Israel would be proud of.

Under most circumstances, this works. During his lectures, the girls do not knit, and officers who come to talk with him cannot refuse his request that they stay in the career army. He creates within them a full identification with his image as a commander, and he does not hesitate to expose himself, saying: Take me as an example. He has the ability to make an officer feel guilty and to feel that if he refuses, he will be personally disappointing Doron, not the IDF. And if this exercise does not work, he invites the officer to his home in Ra'anana (a four-room apartment, modestly furnished) and sets the second trap for him: His wife Hagar (a housewife from Kibbutz Metzuba who met him at high school in Naharia and married him when he was a platoon commander in the paratroops) serves coffee and home-baked cakes, and he sees a happy and united family (four sons, one about to enlist), who supports the path chosen by Doron all the way.

Doron invests a lot in the person. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why people tend to forgive him. They know that he does not give up until the end, even at the highest ranks, when he feels that an injustice has been done to one of his commanders. To the same degree that he establishes himself as a positive example, he can also deprecate himself, get up, and admit mistakes, like after the Ein-Zahalta battle, which took place in this very small village in the eastern sector of Lebanon. During the Galilee Peace initiatives, an IDF armored force fought there against members of the Syrian commando. On the third day of the war, an armored unit, under the command of Colonel Doron Rubin, advanced toward the village. He had been given a directive to reach the Beirut-Damascus road quickly. When the force reached the outskirts of the village, darkness had already fallen. They encountered a Syrian armored unit and destroyed it.

Doron: "When dawn broke, we found ourselves in a Syrian commando ambush. We started incurring casualties and trying to search out the enemy's positions."

Major General (Reserves) Rafa'el Eitan: "Two stories are intertwined in the Ein-Zahalta incident: falling into the ambush and the successful outcome of it. The progress of the battle fits the image of Doron as a brave commander. In war, many mistakes are made. The question is how one gets out of them, how to save oneself in difficult situations. Doron made an error, but he also knew how to correct mistakes. No one knew that during the night the Syrian commando had arranged itself on the terraces of the north ridge. In the morning, when the order was given to move, Doron entered the fire, without sending infantry to the flanks and without checking the controlling ridges. I do not know why he did this. It was a difficult battle. Down below, on the slope, a column of tanks was caught in the hellish fire of Sager rockets fired by the commando soldiers who had infiltrated the ridge. Doron did not stay behind, but ran forward to overcome the difficulties."

The tank brigade that led the armored column into Ein-Zahalta absorbed the first round of fire. Oded, the platoon commander, and his friend found themselves under infernal fire. He recalls: "My first lieutenant, who was riding in the tank behind us, was wounded. I got close to it and when I went to move into his tank, I was wounded by a bullet in the chest. I fell back into the

tank, losing a lot of blood. My consciousness was clouding. The crew tried to pull me out, without success. To pull someone like me out of a tank--I'm too big and too heavy—is not an easy task. One of the crew members jumped out and ran to find help. Suddenly, he saw a silver-haired gentleman walking around the field. He shouted to him: 'Hey, reservist, come here, there's a platoon commander wounded in the tank and we have to pull him out.' The 'reservist' did not say a word. He got into the tank and pushed me out with force."

"I did not know who the man was. Doron had received the command over the unit 3 days before that, and only a few of the men knew him. When I woke up in the hospital, after a month, he came to visit me. Only then did I know that the 'reservist' was the field commander; and when I was in the hospital, he visited my parents; his wife Hagar prepared meals for the other wounded men. I returned home only 5 months later. I was a broken person, really a rag.

"One day Doron came to me with a surprising suggestion: to return to career service. I agreed. It brought me back to life. Since then, he has stayed in touch. He does not stand on formality. If I do not call him, he calls me, just to see how I am doing."

Doron never forgave himself for the Ein-Zahalta mistake. To his command he said: "We did not carry out the mission." The assistant chief of staff at the time, Moshe Levi, and branch commander, Menahem Aynan, tried to pacify him. But this battle is in his bones. He insisted on moving forward and initiating a counterattack. The following day, Thursday, the unit attacked. The Syrian force retreated, with 150 casualties and 35 tanks out of commission. The unit sailed forward and reached the Beirut-Damascus road first, after conducting three unit-wide attacks. Even this did not absolve his conscience.

After the war, a probe into the battle was conducted at the Paratroopers Home." Doron Rubin was the only one who got up on the stage and admitted: "Gentlemen, I made a mistake." He was the only one who did not try to find excuses or justify himself. Many think highly of him because of this. He is only angry because "in our advance toward the Beirut-Damascus road, we engaged in far more difficult battles, but no one talks about those."

His roots are in Moshav Bet Yosef, which was abandoned during the war for independence and reestablished in Bustan Hagalil. His home was one of idealistic laborers who infused their children with this legacy. He never stopped trying to infuse his soldiers with this love of land and country, ever since he became a commander in the IDF.

Doron Rubin came to the paratroopers in the summer of 1963. Four years later, on the eve of the 6-Day War, he was given command of a platoon of new recruits. In those days, the May recruits looked like a bunch of Indians. Doron was undaunted. He too was recruited in the month of May and knew the "stock." His first encounter was a show of strength. Not one man stood at attention. Their overall appearance was sloppy. "You're not impressing me," he said,

and in the course of a month, he was fighting a war with them. Suddenly, someone remembered that the soldiers had not yet been sworn in. Someone else suggested conducting the ceremony near the Western wall, which had been liberated. Doron marched the platoon from the Shimshon intersection to the Old City of Jerusalem, conducted an impressive ceremony, and set a tradition. He continued with them for a year and taught his soldiers to know the country on foot. After a course in jumping and machinegun training, they no longer felt like the retards of the battalion.

His real test came when he returned and received command of the May recruits of Battalion 202. This platoon, they warned him, was beyond help. It defies control. They too gathered for the first lineup like a disorderly mob. Later, smoke bombs exploded in the latrines and fireworks went off in the tents. He turned 10 soldiers over to the military police as they begged to return to the platoon--then the rest began to break. It was not so much that they were wild as that they suffered from a low self-image and did not believe in their own ability to be good soldiers. There was no communication between them and the "intellectual" commanders "who speak nice." Doron spoke their language to them. He convinced them that it was in their power to be good and to be leaders in the battalion. Gradually, they achieved first place. When he left the platoon, even the craziest among them cried.

In 1969, Doron Rubin participated in the operation of taking the Egyptian radar from the west bank of the Suez Canal. In 1972, he led a force that attacked terrorists in Tripoli, Lebanon, from the sea. The force landed after 8 hours at sea. Two weeks later, the heads of the terrorists were in the hands of the attackers. During the Yom Kippur War, he was already a battalion commander of paratroopers when the battalion was ordered to fly to Rafidim and join the late Albert Mendler's group. Colonel D., today one of the elite commanders in the field, then a commander of a platoon in a brigade, recalls: "Doron sought perfection. He did not compromise on anything related to the assimilation of learning and operational readiness.

When we went down to Rafidim, we did not know what we were going into. We had only been told that Hermon had fallen. Two days later, we were given an independent mission: to stop the Egyptian forces from the direction of the town of Suez. Today, that may seem simple. At the time, it was incumbent on a battalion of infantry to stop three tank brigades. We engaged in battle, perhaps not so fierce. We conducted the battle as though it were written in the books: look-outs, reports, artillery range, the use of support fire. We fought like a unit of tanks, with paltry means. We had only four recoilless guns and a mortar unit. The tank brigade that was attached to us by chance was used intelligently. The infantry soldiers had to bring the charges to the tanks in their arms. Most of the enemy's armored equipment was destroyed. At 6 o'clock in the morning, they started to advance. At 11:00 a.m. they made a surprise attack. The battalion came out of the battle with almost no casualties.

In April 1974, the unit of paratroopers went up to the Bet-Jan area in the Golan Heights to relieve a force that was being pounded in the war of attrition waged by the Syrians. They told Doron that he would not last more than 2 weeks. He stayed 2 months. Colonel D.: "Every day, hundreds of shells fell on us. Infernal fire. The commanders needed strength of leadership to motivate the soldiers and give them the feeling that it was imperative and important to be there. Doron provided a personal example. He drove around in his jeep between positions, under heavy fire, organizing activities. At night, we built posts. This gave us a feeling of security. Doron made sure we exercised a lot and that we did not sink into inactivity, fearfully awaiting the next barrage. He was everywhere. One day, we received a report on the short wave that one of the commanders in one of the posts was wounded. Doron heard the report, was the first to arrive at the post, and extricated the wounded officer with his own hands."

After training at the War College in Paris, he was appointed to be a commander at the officers' school. He sent a note to Me'ir Pa'il: "I have come full circle. I was a cadet under you, now I am commander of the school." For 2 years, he was able to implement his pedagogic bent, and not just as a commander. In his direct, somewhat harsh way, he repeatedly showed his students that a commander in the IDF must provide a personal example, in his righteousness and in his ability to lead. He cannot order obedience just by virtue of his rank. He did not hesitate to dismiss, immediately after taking on the position, 80 percent of the doctors group, after he found that they were truant, lied, and had no basic knowledge of navigation or soldiering. His drive for perfection and his zeal for constant personal criticism frequently mixed with self-castigation. These qualities did not leave him when he received the command over the paratroop brigade. From 1979-81, they conducted attacks on terrorists nests in Lebanon, following attacks on northern settlements. Doron led all these actions and made sure that all the platoon commanders would have a baptism under fire. In the first air raid using helicopters near the Kasmiya bridge, in March 1980, he personally ordered the storming of a terrorist ambush that blocked their way. Five terrorists were killed. He scrutinized every force that went out on the mission under a magnifying glass. Based on performance, he decided who would go out on the next mission. Doron did not wager. He chose only the best.

Doron Rubin Speaks

I am the commander, the responsibility for any oversight rests with me. I see the issue of motivation and signing up for the career army as a value of top priority, no less important than the IDF's preparation for war. Good commanders will sign up if there are good commanders above them, and they will come to know that there is in the chain of command sincerity and righteousness. Only in this way can you create within them an obligation and a consciousness. The personal example, the personality that the commander projects, is an important condition. I have always offered myself as a model for examination. I take advantage of every opportunity to speak with the people, tell them about myself, about my career in the army, and the actions I participated in. Once, I

gathered a group of battalion commanders for a conversation. Their question was: Who are we, why should we sign up for the career army? A kind of personal identification. I told them about myself and my world view. At the end of the conversation, one of the officers sent me a note that read: "I am ashamed and embarrassed. I salute you." It was for me proof that in conversations, I had succeeded in creating in them uncertainty and distress. I have a custom--to invite officers and their girlfriends to my home. Why their girlfriends? Because in many cases, they are the reason why the officers do not sign up for the career army. This is part of the personal example I portray. A personal example does not just consist of "forward march," but also what you as a commander project in your day-to-day life: how you behave at home, how the family is run, the level of your personal morality. An officer's car is an indication of his priorities. Whenever I did not convince an officer to sign on, I felt that I personally failed. This system works. Even today, my officers write me from the remote forests of South America, promising me that they will return to service.

When I was commander of the paratroop brigade, I created a thesis that says that the paratroops are not just a red hat and shoes. Anyone who comes to the brigade is entering a covenant with the world; and he who imposes morality on commanders should first and foremost look within himself. Thus, the first requirement must be that every commander explain why there are officers under him who are not signing up. If the commanders feel responsible, perhaps they will get their own act together. This is field work, with no fooling around. There are no miraculous formulas here. It is just that your underlings scrutinize you. If they discover that you are not consistent, they vote with their feet and leave. Once, I asked a platoon commander who was about to be released to come see me. He was surprised. Why did I invite him? I told him: Because you are about to leave. I want you to know that you are an excellent officer. He left me confused. A year and a half later he returned to the army.

I see the phenomenon of unwillingness to sign up for the career army as a failure, by us as commanders. There are, however, other factors, such as salary and image. But if we are worthy of our commands, they will be worthy of us. Not just for the chief of staff and the generals, but for all commanders. It is true that from time to time, the senior commander must give what is called an infusion from above. I, as a general, can be charismatic. I can make appearances and talk with them. But today, I do not sleep next to them in the bunker and I do not crawl with them in the field. The responsibility rests with the field commanders. When one of your officers knows that you will back him, when necessary, even if it involves a tussle with senior-ranking officers, he will appreciate this and feel important.

Once, in the paratroops, Raful decided to kick out one of my NCO's because of a mistake he had made (not related to the corps). This NCO had in fact made a mistake, but I claimed that it was not a good idea to kick him out, because then we would be teaching NCO's not to take responsibility. There was a discussion with Raful. He spun his watch on the table and announced that the officer would be kicked out. Everyone got up and left. I stayed. I

told him that if this officer was kicked out, I would draw implications about myself, because I was the commander of the unit and the responsibility for any oversight fell to me. I felt we should be satisfied with the steps that had already been taken against him. I was prepared to take this issue all the way. I put my thoughts in writing. Rafi read them and said: You write nicely. But 2 weeks later, he called me and told that the decision had been rescinded. This awakened extraordinary feelings in the unit. Today, the army is marked with many question marks, both because of the atmosphere on the outside and perhaps also due to the fact that the people are not convinced that they are really needed here. I have never put the army above everything else. I say: Everyone has to do something above and beyond. We live in a cynical world, and sometimes we treat even this issue with cynicism. I dream about someday writing a book on how to prepare units for war; how to take care of the best and most important weapon we have--the man--beyond training and battle readiness; to pass on to other commanders my world view and my way of doing things, which have made me a success.

You just have to want to give. More than once I gathered the families of officers and NCO's for weekends. I also brought their wives to Lebanon, so they could see what their husbands were doing. I stood before them and spoke with them. Later, when the husband went to his wife and said, "Doron wants me to sign up for the career army," she would know whom he was talking about. And when one of the mothers calls me and tells me that I am guilty because her son signed up for the career army, I feel proud. It fills me with satisfaction.

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MILITARY CAREERISTS: IMPROVED BENEFITS, LOWER ATTRITION

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew Supplement - "24 Hours" 11 Mar 87 pp 32, 33

[Article by Tzvi Alosch: "The Career Army: Attrition Has Halted"]

[Text] The wave of army dropouts has halted. The large number of career army people who took off their uniforms and turned to civilian life is growing smaller and smaller. Official sources within the IDF are not quick to "admit" this initial success. They are waiting for the "results" of surveys that will prove this beyond any doubt.

Over the last 3 years, no fewer than 5,000 career army people left or were released from service. During the coming year, the situation will be entirely different. It is difficult to put one's finger on the main reason for the halt in the erosion which had worried army leaders. The year 1986 was the turning point. There has never been a year in the history of the IDF in which the defense network has invested as much work in understanding the problem and making efforts to overcome it.

Colonel Yehezkel Deskal, head of the personnel division of the manpower branch of the IDF, spent many days touring the various IDF units and talking to career army people. He says that today he encounters a different atmosphere and that the look in their eyes is more optimistic.

The career army people who stayed are not thrilled with the unimpressive salary increases that swelled their salary stubs a bit. The turnabout occurred due to a positive change that took place over the last few months in the relationship toward and the atmosphere surrounding uniformed staff. A veteran IDF major, who did not consider leaving despite everything, told us recently: "Today, the gang on the base already feels that to serve in the career army is not so foolish."

What Will Be on the Stub?

Following prolonged negotiations between the Defense Ministry and the Treasury, salary increases were recently established for career army people. The first recipients already saw the change in their February paychecks, which they received on 1 March. These are the principles of the agreement recently accepted by the Treasury:

- All career military people will be awarded an average salary increase of approximately 15 percent. This increase includes the 8 percent received at the time by government workers, which was disallowed for career army people. Some of the career service people received their increases in March. The rest will receive them in April.

In the IDF, a distinction is made between two groups with different priorities for receiving salaries:

- The front rank (fighters on the front line) and noncommissioned officers in encouraged professions, such as engineers, doctors, and lawyers. They will receive the highest increases, reaching at times as much as 25 percent;
- Officers in administrative ranks in front-line units and noncommissioned officers in fields other than the above will receive their increases in April.

New Salary Tables

Officers: Assistant battalion commander (Major), 8 years tenure, serving on front line: up to January - 1,264 new shekels net; from April - 1,470 new shekels.

Platoon commander (Captain), 4 years tenure, serving on front line: up to January - 980 new shekels net; from April - 1,170 new shekels.

NCO's (combat vehicle mechanics), 15 years service, serving on front line: January salary - 1,365 new shekels net; April salary - 1,542 new shekels.

Master Sergeant (combat vehicle mechanics), 14 years service, front line duty: January salary - 1,042 new shekels net; April salary - 1,198 new shekels.

New in the IDF

Mustering-out Exercises

Each year, 1,000 career army men muster out. Now a decision has been made to train them for life after the army.

Each year, approximately 1,000 career army men complete their tour of service in the IDF, 1,000 graduates who leave behind a long army career, but whose age certainly allows them to begin a second career.

In the IDF, the decision was reached that the treatment of those leaving affects those who remain in the army. The stories about career army men roaming around unemployed and having difficulty finding suitable employment only added to the downtrodden image that was part of the career army man's frame of reference. This year the IDF budgeted, for the first time, financial and human resources to deal with the preparation of those leaving to fit into civilian life. According to the new plan, the retiree takes a series of occupational tests to determine what his abilities are and in what sectors he might fit into "on the outside."

The second step is to direct the retiree into training courses, at the army's expense, and in the context of their service. Recently, the hotel union in Israel discovered the latent potential of IDF trained men. The union started inviting many of them into professional courses.

Weekend at a Five-star Hotel

Innovations for career army people: special camps for children, student scholarships, and vacations at hotels.

Scholarships: Starting this year, a special fund for mutual aid to career army people will grant tuition supplement scholarships to the children of career army people studying in elementary and high schools. The sum will be 150 shekels per child per year.

Camps: This summer, the children of career army people will be able to participate in a number of camps at one-third the standard rate.

Family vacations: The IDF opened a special vacation village in Giv'at Ulga for the families of career army people. Vacations of 3 and 4 days will be granted. Thus far, 10,000 career army people and their families have enjoyed the new vacation village.

A special arrangement between the IDF and the hotel union allows, starting this year, career army families to spend long weekends at a choice of four- and five-star hotels throughout the country. The career person's contribution to the payment is at the rate of 2 paid vacation days, approximately 100 new shekels.

They Will Matriculate

The population of NCO's represents more than 50 percent of the total career army population. This is the permanent and essential framework of the IDF. The master sergeants, the technicians, the maintenance and transportation system people--all of them have been neglected and ignored for many years.

This year, the number of NCO's who left to complete their high school matriculation doubled. This represents a year during which the NCO is on leave, receives a salary, and studies at the army's expense.

More professional stages were introduced this year into the NCO's service track. Each NCO will be able to upgrade his professional level through training and specialization in appropriate courses.

Following years of stagnation, a new interim rank was also granted this year to 1,500 NCO's: that of "advanced" sergeant commander.

Bait: Going Abroad at the Army's Expense

From the reservoir of platoon commanders and assistant battalion commanders of today will sprout the chief of staff of 15 years from now. In order for him to be chosen from among the very best, the IDF came to the realization that everything must be done so that the most select field officers would stay. The wave of IDF dropouts particularly effected this group.

Many surveys that were conducted revealed the burning issues that were bothering the young field officers. In accordance with this, solutions were presented this year.

Academic studies: Almost every senior commander who tried to convince a talented combat platoon commander to stay in the army came up against a complaint that was difficult to debate. "I want to develop myself personally. Study. Like my friends," said the young commanders. Until now, each year of study was contingent on the approval of a direct commander, depending on the immediate needs of the army, and what's more--on signing up for a career commitment. For every year of study, 2 years of service. The necessity of signing up for such long service (one academic degree equals 6 years of service) deterred many.

Today the situation is different. The commitment to career service differs by function. A combat platoon commander has to give only 1 year in exchange for each year of study. Other officers, 2 years.

The general complaint the army faced and had no answer for was: "I want to get some air, see the world. Maybe afterward I'll come back." To respond to this natural need, the most popular benefit in the army today was chosen: a trip abroad. To date, approximately 200 young officers have gone on organized tours to Europe, sponsored and paid for by the army.

As opposed to the situation that existed in the past, every combat platoon commander today has a vehicle as a condition of service. Usually, it is a Peugeot 505 van. The army budgets hundreds of vehicles for this purpose.

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AMBASSADOR TO UK DISCUSSES RELATIONS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 4 Apr 87 p 29

[Interview with Kuwait's Ambassador to Britain, Ghazi al-Rayyis, by Wahidah al-Miqdadi: "Our Relations with Britain Are Governed by Mutual Interests"]

[Text] Twenty-six years have elapsed since Kuwait's independence from British protection, and Britain is considered one of the countries that are linked to Kuwait by long-standing ties. In this meeting which Wahidah al-Miqdadi held, the Kuwaiti ambassador, Ghazi al-Rayyis, sheds light on these relations and on Arab-British relations in general.

Ambassador Ghazi al-Rayyis, Kuwait's ambassador to the Court of St James, is considered an Arab ambassador of long standing in London. He has passed more than 6 years there, during which he has witnessed many events on the British stage and the British-Arab stage in general. The conversation with the ambassador began with the question:

"With the passage of 26 years since independence, has the face of Kuwait changed much? What are the aspects of this change?"

[Answer] Perhaps I will leave the appraisal of this matter to someone who knew Kuwait before 1961. Someone visiting Kuwait will observe the magnitude of the tremendous construction development the country has realized, which has brought it from the age of simplicity to the age of modern developmental complexity reflecting much social and material welfare. Kuwait, through the process of this development or leap forward, has become an Arab and international commercial and economic center of attraction whose scope and importance are well known.

There also is the political side to Kuwait's experience. Kuwait's democratic political experience is well known. Although it has recently been suspended for specific reasons, that is due to the assimilation of the lesson and a review of mistakes.

[Question] You have spent more than 6 years in Britain as Kuwait's ambassador. What are your impressions of Kuwaiti-British relations?

[Answer] Our relations with Britain are long-standing ones which go back to the days of the British protectorate. There is mutual understanding and

previous acquaintance. I can describe our current relations as based on mutual, common interests. Britain, as an industrial country, tries to export its manufactures to us, and we, as a consuming country, need these manufactures. We export oil to it and it exports technology to us. However, Britain does not have preference over other exporting countries. We deal with it as with others and it must compete with others in our markets. Competition, as is well known, is founded on the elements of quality and price and the period of delivery. I believe that our British friends have understood this matter and have started to compete with others in our markets on this basis. For example, British cars disappeared from our markets some time ago and Japanese cars came in in their place because they were cheaper and of good quality.

The commercial aspect constitutes the focal point in our relations with Britain, but alongside that our political relations with it are distinguished by mutual understanding and harmony. We understand their positions and they appreciate our viewpoints, hopes and aspirations. We consider that our basic causes as Arabs, headed by the Palestine cause, are national causes and causes of liberation, and they consider that they are thorny complicated international causes. We differ with Britain on this point because we believe that it assumes a special moral and historic responsibility toward this cause, and consequently we do not agree that it should view it as any other international cause.

[Question] The talk about the Western countries leads us to their position on the security of the Gulf. The Gulf Cooperation Council is trying to build a military force which will protect the region from foreign intervention and also from the dangers of the expansion of the Gulf war, one manifestation of which is the anxiety about internal security which Kuwait in particular is experiencing. How does Kuwait view this matter?

[Answer] Since its formation 6 years ago, the Cooperation Council has tried to make the countries belonging to it work in a single direction, although each one has its independence and its policy. Without a doubt, the Gulf area is coveted. Consequently, we consider that these countries must possess the intrinsic power to defend themselves.

We as part of the Arab world rely on our intrinsic power and the power of our Arab brothers with whom we are linked by the mutual defense agreement under the banner of the Arab League. If our region is exposed to danger, we will try to rely on ourselves first of all and on the power of our Arab brothers secondly. If the danger is great, we will try to seek the aid of our international friends within the framework of the United Nations. I believe that this principle shows our rejection of any foreign intervention based on the pretext of protecting the region.

[Question] Kuwait is closest to the inflamed area. Iran considers that it is aligned with Iraq and that was one of the problems that were raised before and during the fifth Islamic summit held on Kuwait's territory. How is Kuwait compensating for these problems?

[Answer] Kuwait's role in the Gulf war is the role of conciliator. It considers that it is a fruitless war, in which brothers in religion are fighting

although it would have been possible for each of them to direct its power and its armies at the common enemy. We must say that Iraq for a number of years has been offering peace. All we want is for Iran to accept the offer and for the two parties to meet at one table and decide to put an end to the bloodletting.

[Question] In the Islamic summit conference, Kuwait had an effort in the creation of common Islamic ground, in its Arab and non-Arab contexts, and there was Egypt's attendance in a distinctive manner after it had left the Arab family with Camp David. What is Kuwait's role in inviting President Husni Mubarak to the summit? Is its attendance at the Islamic summit preparation for its attendance at the anticipated Arab summit?

[Answer] The fact is that Egypt's attendance at the Islamic summit conference did not occur so much through personal effort on the part of Kuwait as through a resolution of the Islamic conference which had been adopted at its previous session.

We still consider that Egypt's departure is a loss for the Arabs and for it too. Therefore, any opportunity which will bring it together with them on the Arab or Islamic level is a valuable one. President Husni Mubarak's attendance at the Islamic summit had many positive results, the most important of which was the narrowing of the distance among Arab views. We still say that President Husni Mubarak does not bear the legacy of others, and it is necessary to show understanding for Egypt's circumstances, because it is in the interests of the Arabs that Egypt should return and not in their interests that it should be isolated because of a mistake which took place in a previous era. God willing, Egypt will attend the Arab summit.

[Question] Let us draw away from politics a little and talk about your experience in Britain. Do you have specific impressions about it following the distinctive period you have spent in it?

[Answer] Whenever I think about this subject I find myself thinking about the Arabs' conditions and circumstances in expatriate life. The Arabs are perhaps the foreign community which is the most averse to itself and the least interested in its general national issues and the issues which affect its presence and respect in this country. We are accused of terrorism although we are the ones who suffer from it the most. We are accused of stealing from treasuries, although our traditions and our religion do not permit that. There is great misunderstanding of the Arabs. They in their turn do not do much in the direction of correcting it. Even the Arab press here succumbs to the same error. It passes on what others see without presenting the Arab view. It also sometimes raises internal Arab issues which it is not proper to raise abroad.

The Arab community here is an old, important one. It has grown following the events in Lebanon. Here I do not mean the Lebanese alone but the Arab tourists who because of the events of Lebanon have started coming to Britain for tourist activity.

However, nonetheless, we are dispersed as Arabs and dispersed as Moslems. There is for example a large Yemeni community and a greater Moroccan

community, and they have their many problems, but most Arabs do not know anything about them, and this may be attributed to their dispersion and the infrequency of their meetings. Some people try to cast blame for this on the Arab embassies, but the embassies in reality are limited in activity and movement and cannot do what the individual himself does not do.

I am citing these observations because I can see how other communities function in the interests of their people and have their unified voice and presence. The Arabs do not lack anything which would prevent them from having what others have [sic].

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SHI'ITE LEADER DISCUSSES CURRENT BEIRUT SITUATION

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 17 Apr 87 pp 15-17

[Interview with AMAL leader Nabih Birri by Thurayya 'Asi: "Yes to the Halat Airport, But After Conciliation: The Rift among Nationalist Parties Is Profound"]

[Text] There is a latent force in political leaders today which attracts people competing with one another to realize journalistic scoops. That reminds us of the era of principalities, a day when poets vied with one another to hang about the gates of palaces so the caliph or lord of the palace would bestow on them the bounty of permitting them to deliver encomiums. Except for the mercenary quality, the journalists today suffer hardships and toil in hopes that they will be graced with fortune and gladdened by the blessing of obtaining a press interview. What we fear today is that the competition and mutual jealousy that existed among the poets will come to dwell among journalists. It most certainly has acquired the evil of mutual jealousy.

Indeed, getting a conversation with his excellency the minister Nabih Birri was not easy. I am not exaggerating when I say that it is difficult and vexing. It requires the setting of an appointment. You are jubilant if you get what you want and you are surprised to find that the matter is not just one of setting an appointment, but also the minister's preoccupations, his meetings, his press conferences, his cabinet activities, movement issues — everything cancels the appointment, so that it must be replaced by another one, and you go again, accompanied by the fear of failure that you will be among those who are preparing a press conference and it will subsequently be impossible to carry out a separate conversation. You return with a hidden longing, and the appointments proliferate, until fate smiles on you with a meeting which has been set in advance at 3 hours. How lucky you will be if you can drown the minister in a flood of questions before which he finds himself compelled to extend the time, which might have lasted almost an hour! That is the difficult road we traveled until we reached our goal and had this comprehensive interview with Minister Nabih Birri on the movement issues and the issues of the Lebanese crisis in general and the south in particular — not to speak of the things that had emerged lately in the context of the alliances on the Islamic stage following the recent West Beirut events.

AL-HAWADITH: With the deepening of the gulf between you and the Progressive Socialist Party, how do you envision the future of the national alliances, which were the foundation for the opposition to the regime?

Nabih Birri: With respect to the nationalist parties, the fact is that it is necessary to acknowledge that a gap exists. This gap is not in form but rather goes beyond the form to the substance. I do not imagine the possibility of restoring relations or alliances, or even coordination, between the AMAL movement and some forces until the real bases for national action have been reaffirmed. If you want a succinct analogy, I can say, just as the relationship with the regime and between East and West [Beirut] need a charter, so do the relations with the national forces need a charter.

AL-HAWADITH: Here we might pause to consider a number of fronts on which you are standing in opposition to the regime and the forces in the eastern section that you are in contact with. Could we consider that that applies to your relationship with the nationalist forces?

Nabih Birri: No, here, what I meant in terms of the subject, the demands that exist between us and the nationalist forces are different from the demands that exist between us and the regime. In other words, how can one have pending issues connected to a specific area of life and at the same time have other issues connected to another area -- in other words, the operation of the "excess" that we have to remove with the nationalist forces is not like the operation of the cancerous virus which we have not yet been able to remove between ourselves and the Lebanese regime. There is a big difference. Also, no problem exists between some nationalist forces and us. With respect to the Israeli issue, they might be in line with our policy regarding this matter, which is confrontation with Israel. Some other nationalist forces need an explanation and need practical, carefully studied matters as far as this issue goes. It is not enough for us to curse tyrants and curse Israel hundreds of times and not light a candle on the road to liberation. There are many things which we need, a charter or clear, frank sections, so that we will not be allied and in contention at the same time.

AL-HAWADITH: In this case, we can say that you are reviewing the form of the alliance?

Nabih Birri: Totally.

AL-HAWADITH: After what happened recently in West Beirut, and the entry of the Syrian Arab army that followed that, what is your vision of the future of conditions in West Beirut? Will that be reflected, in your view, on the future of the comprehensive resolution of the crisis?

Nabih Birri: First of all, with respect to security considerations, I believe that the situation in West Beirut from the security standpoint and even from the standpoint of living has become stable, and a problem no longer exists. Of course, with the final solution, the security situation in West Beirut will move from hands to honest hands -- following the agreement, of course. That is, here we imagine that this will take place following the agreement over the national army and the conception of the future. Moreover,

I believe that the security situation as far as West Beirut goes has been settled. The purpose behind these outbreaks which occur every day of course is psychological confusion, the purpose behind them is incitement of an atmosphere of chaos so that the other sections will not feel that there is a difference between them and what is happening in West Beirut. However, in spite of that, such outbreaks or explosions might also occur in France and occur in Europe and in all the countries in which security might be "first class."

There is no problem from the security standpoint. This is not the only important aspect of the Syrian move into West Beirut; it is the weakest point in it. The important thing is what has changed that which happened before. Before that move we were involved in combat and dissension which had progressed to dissension among sects, the Sunnites, Shiites and Druzes had fought hand to hand, and the national forces do not come to memory because there no longer is anything called national forces. The parties were transformed into factions, the parties started fighting and consequently the factions were fighting. The Lebanese sections were not split up among themselves but had been eliminated. There no longer were any ties among them. The south also had become separated, the coastal road closed, the mountain road closed, and the al-Awza'i road as well, on top of the shutdown that existed between West and East Beirut. This means that the geography of "cantonization" had occurred and the sociological consideration had been realized, and it was intended that it be deepened more and more from the human psychological aspect so that plans that had been carefully studied and elaborated for a long time could be carried out. The Syrian move proceeded to restore unity among the Islamic sects and between Moslems and Christians as regards hopes for a living, especially proceeding from West Beirut. More important than that, also, it has opened the sections up to one another, and it has happened, as we said, that 70 percent of Lebanon, in form at least, is united, and the other 20 or 30 percent cannot reject unity in this case. This is the significance of the Syrian step. Moreover this step of course will provide reinforcement politically; of course it will cause us to supervise the solution. Following the Syrian step, rather than being in one arroyo where they cannot see anything at all except silt and rocks and the rubble coming down this arroyo, the Lebanese, or the nationalists in Lebanon, have now gone about reaching the peak of the mountain one way or another and it now is in their ability to look out over the others. It is now in their ability to carry on a dialogue with the others. It is now in their ability to breathe a specific gentle breeze as far as this matter is concerned. Consequently, it is indeed the beginning of a political solution. Can we benefit from this political solution? Here I have a particular view. I doubt that it is possible to arrive at the solution.

AL-HAWADITH: What is the reason for your doubt?

Nabih Birri: I believe that there is a lack of seriousness on the part of the regime. It has said, "Don't you believe?" It has said, "Yes, but let my heart be reassured." In fact, I have had doubts. If a flexible plan comes about, as is said, then some ideas can change. The five-party proposal was made in Damascus, and I do not believe that there is anything more flexible than the five-party plan. That is, that is the point where it is correct to

say "do not be flexible, you will be squeezed, that is, after this will come the squeezing stage." The final plan which the regime presented consisted of the 1943 charter and the conventional practice which followed that. It entails no progress at all.

AL-HAWADITH: In your view, what is the reason for the regime's retreat? Is it just the result of the flexibility you expressed or are there international reasons?

Nabih Birri: No, it is not that simple. I believe that there are international reasons. That is, where is the international conference? Where are the visits to Baghdad and Tel Aviv? There are a number of questions that have been raised.

AL-HAWADITH: I would like to go back a little to talk about the security move regarding West Beirut and your talk about the political cover for it. Could we reopen the file on the enlarged national front here on which discussion took place in the past?

Nabih Birri: If what is meant is the national federation front, it is not the AMAL movement which obstructed the national federation front, but, unfortunately, some parties which do not possess forthrightness except against the AMAL movement and possess no sincerity or forthrightness about anything; these truly exist within the AMAL movement. We were represented in the national federation front at the highest levels and were not absent from any meeting. We put all our power in movement for the sake of making it succeed. This step failed as a result of others, not us. Of course we alone could not do anything, and not even others could do anything alone. Therefore we, historically, are not responsible for any mistakes as far as this step goes. However, if what is meant by the question was making a success of the Lebanese dialogue through a national conference, I am still in favor of that, if real seriousness over reaching a Lebanese-Lebanese agreement exists. The form is connected to the essence. I do not see a form which is more assured than the meeting of the council of ministers in its capacity as a board of dialogue. There is nothing wrong with the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies being included in the board and with its meeting in Damascus, on the provision that it be preceded by real sincere will, by the readiness to make concessions. What do I mean by making concessions? Let us be frank: the 1943 formula, what resembles the 1943 formula and the conventional practice which arose from 1943, because what is built on something rotten is rotten, absolutely cannot constitute a solution in Lebanon. There might be people who are betting on the emancipation of the term. Let us keep the dialogue open to the end of the term. The important thing is that at the end of the term we will not have conceded anything. They must give good thought to how we can move Lebanon on to a new term. If no conciliation takes place, I fear that there will be no new term. Is this in the interests of the Lebanese? Is this in the interests of the president, specifically? What, moreover, is the value of a president? Here I am not opposed to Amin al-Jumayyil specifically, when he says "I want to pass things through." That is, Shaykh al-Jumayyil took over Lebanon when the Lebanese pound relative to the American dollar equalled 2.5 pounds, and it now is at 114 pounds, and if the situation remains as it is, it could reach 250 pounds. In other words, history has

recorded this step in regard to him, at a time when he could have not passed into history this way, when he could have realized political reform. Let it at least record that at the end of his term he established the new Lebanon.

AL-HAWADITH: What in your view are the international factors which prompted the regime to retreat in the last paper it presented, while talk is circulating about having the negotiations continue?

Nabih Birri: You know that in political postulates, there is nothing that is 100 percent certain. However, I would like to shed some light, or some signals and signs, and leave the interpretation to the reader. A big question arises. The second paper which was presented to Damascus was more developed and positive than the most recent one. One should bear in mind that the second paper emerged under circumstances where the Palestinian-Lebanese situation was much worse than now and the Lebanese-Lebanese situation as far as the national forces were concerned was worse than now. What else do you want? Even rather than advancing we are retreating. Israel during this period has returned to Lebanon. It is well known that Israel had declared that it had left Lebanon, even if it had always remained in an indirect or direct way, in a hidden manner. Today, no, it has returned and declared that it is coming back and staying. I do not believe that this return is 100 percent unrelated to what is going on inside Lebanon. This is the first point.

Secondly, the direct Palestinian-Israeli negotiations which are now taking place in my opinion are going beyond the limits of the international conference. Everyone is raising the subject of the international conference. Why this conference, and for whom? The purpose behind the international conference was that it would carry out a just resolution to the Palestine cause under the rotunda of the United Nations. If there has been the dialogue that began in Bucharest and whose latest installment was the meeting between Shimon Peres and Palestinian figures, if he had met the joint delegation, which means acceptance of Resolution 242 and acceptance of a solution on the West Bank, and if the purpose in accepting the invitation to the international conference is to give blessings and congratulations for what has taken place, mightn't Lebanon resolve its case before it participates in the scattering of incense? There also are other things.

AL-HAWADITH: Here, can we connect the recent escalation of the Lebanese front and the Lebanese forces to the preparations that are being made in the Israeli context, with respect to the airport, for instance?

Nabih Birri: I do not want to make accusations at random, but I do want to ask, a conciliation has not occurred, we are still working toward it, and, as his eminence brother Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din says, we must follow up on the dialogue even if it takes 20 or 30 sessions. The important thing is that we not suspend it, because hope lies in the dialogue. I also want to ask another question: if the dialogue does not reach a conclusion, what is there to prevent us from opening the transit points? I presented, and during this period I preferred to work apart from the media, for 2 months I asked for the opening of the al-Tayyunah transit point which as is well known is good for the [Ministry of] Justice and East and West Beirut. Of course, if the army is deployed at the transit points as it was deployed

in West Beirut, the al-Tayyuna transit point will be a transition point from the legitimate authorities of West Beirut to the legitimate authorities of East Beirut. Yesterday I met the head of the Lawyers' Union, 'Isam Karam, and asked him to try, and we would be with him, to open the Sudeco transit point to facilitate the movement of lawyers. Who is obstructing this? AMAL? This excuse, where if misfortune befalls someone he says "the AMAL movement," no longer exists. The masks and veils have been removed today. The airport will be matched by the Halat airport, with the reference here that I personally am in favor of the opening of more than one Halat airport in the Eastern section, but after the Lebanese reconciliation and the restoration to Lebanon of its unity. I am in favor of the Halat airport and dozens of airports in the Eastern section and elsewhere. There is no problem, because at that point the Ministry of Works will indeed have authority and oversight. Now, while no one can provide supplies for his own home, that would indeed amount to legislation for an illegal airport. Therefore I am not against the Halat airport after political reconciliation, but before political reconciliation that would be a more than secessionist development, and we would prefer that Lebanon continue not to have an airport at all than that we proceed with a secessionist plan, because at least if we continue not to have an airport we will be able to keep walking on foot within a united Lebanon, but if we start steps of this kind and compete through them, it is well known that as a consequence they will bring us to partition. The important thing in this context is what will prevent us from taking measures to open the port, at least for the legitimate authorities to be able to advance this people's food and supply affairs. Otherwise, I warn whoever is trying to procrastinate and keep the situation as it is from now until the end of 1988 that there is no guarantee that the situation will continue in this manner at all. Bread, hunger, the dollar, the economic situation in this form are a big question. For this, at least, if we cannot arrive at reconciliation let us act in this context. Today there is a statement by Premier Karami that he is working to limit inflation and to have people open up to one another, that is, if they do not want conciliation, while realizing that I am saying that that is something that is necessary, and the best part of piety is its promptness.

AL-HAWADITH: In the event the situation continues as it is and you do not reach any agreement, what are the measures you might take to cope with the situation?

Nabih Birri: At that point we must know what might happen at the end of 1988.

AL-HAWADITH: Until that time comes, you have asked for measures and procedures. What are these?

Nabih Birri: I propose that if we work for the sake of conciliation, let us direct ourselves toward the realization of some things which are of concern to the people, such as the transit points at least. Let us reach reconciliation on bread, reconciliation on food. This is the thing I was saying we are prepared to realize. I am not imagining that the matter will be easy or simple. I do not like to portray things in a pessimistic atmosphere. One should bear in mind that I am assuming that no results arise from the

negotiations and no one will be able to impose a dialogue or peace in Lebanon. Conciliation or peace is a process of conviction and a process of persuasion, and above both abandonment of the Israeli policy in Lebanon.

AL-HAWADITH: Let us pause a moment to consider the subject of the airport. In your opinion, are the opposition of the Lebanese front and the Lebanese forces to the resumption of flying there and their threat to bomb it the only obstacle to its reopening, while you stated in the past that that is not the problem and that as far as the threats go, if they fire a single shot we will fire 10?

Nabih Birri: I still hold to the statement I made. The decision to shut down the airport is an American one. Everyone benefits from this American pressure to turn his status into that of a "youthful elder." The fact in my opinion is that the Americans are still holding to their position, because if they want to give the green light to the opening of the airport, the first person to say that he was ready and prepared will be Ja'ja'.

AL-HAWADITH: Is the American position vis-a-vis the airport connected to the subject of the hostages in Lebanon?

Nabih Birri: No, the vindictive position on Lebanon, especially Shultz's, has existed for some time. The people who know him personally consider that he has had a grudge against Lebanon since the matter of the multinational forces. As much as the Americans are "tormenting" everyone on this subject, Shultz does not consider a grudge against the others, but with respect to the subject of Lebanon he has a special grudge against Lebanon, precisely since the abrogation of the 17 May agreement, we can say.

AL-HAWADITH: Where has the issue of the hostages progressed?

Nabih Birri: My offer still stands with respect to the four hostages, the BUC professors.

AL-HAWADITH: There is a statement by His Eminence Mr Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah in which he stated that the issue of the hostages concerns Iran and America. What is your position on that?

Nabih Birri: It is possible that His Eminence Mr Fadlallah is more knowledgeable than I am on this subject, but I am against the kidnapping of anyone, especially foreign hostages. In my offer to exchange the Israeli prisoner (the pilot) for the four professors, I on the one hand wanted to serve Lebanon with their return to their educational institution and on the other wanted to offer a humane service to these captives. This position of ours is not a new one. Since the outset, in 1975 — for the sake of those whose memory betrays them — I was in the company of Imam al-Sadr, and we started in the Lebanese war as intermediaries just to stop this kidnapping, which the Phalange had started at that time. For the sake of history, the honor of the initiation of that belongs to the other party. The center of the higher Shiite Islamic council was in al-Hazimiyah at that time. We in the company of Imam al-Sadr made dozens of exchanges a day. By the way, Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil, who at that time was the son of Shaykh Pierre, came twice to the

Shiite Islamic council to receive two kidnapped persons and return people in exchange. At that time they called us the movement of the "kidnapped persons," because of the large number of things we did regarding this subject. We always rejected having people as commodities in this way, and in the context of the foreigners, from the Kuwaitis to the French to the Americans to the Saudis to the TWA airplane, accusations were always made against us, although we were working at mediation. The last time, with the case of the Saudis, 'Arafat was afraid that someone would pass him by, though one should bear in mind that it was not a matter of a race. The Saudis are our brothers. It was said that a victim was handed over in exchange for the hostages, until Mr Rafiq al-Hariri stated, and he is to be thanked for this, that that was not true, it was not true that there was a victim. We are now making efforts to arrive at a solution, whether that is with respect to the foreigners or with respect to the kidnapped Lebanese, hoping that we will put an end to this habit among all Lebanese parties without exception.

AL-HAWADITH: Let us move on to the south. There are a number of problems facing the AMAL movement in the south, starting with the action Hasan Hashim took and ending with Dawud Dawud's statements and positions.

Nabih Birri: First of all, the people who ask these questions ask them out of anxiety over the movement or for some other reason. If it is anxiety over the movement, we will give them a reassuring answer. If the intention is games and a preoccupation with trivia, then let us cast suspicion on them.

First of all, with respect to our brother Dawud Dawud, there is no problem with him. He is a movement leader and one of the symbols of the movement. He was the political official for the region of the south and in this capacity is a member of a political bureau. With the change of region we made, our brother Dawud remained a member of a political bureau and nothing was changed. He is still in the movement. The change that has occurred in the south is not a change of persons but a change of institution. The leadership of the region of the south means the movement's board in the south. As persons it is possible that no observations exist in their regard. They are good, devout, honorable and strong. However, the collective action was bad, and that was apparent in some of the security "breakdown" which had occurred in the south. This administration needed a change and replacement, and we appointed a temporary administration until we made the change, not only in the command of the region but also in the areas; where a breakdown exists, we will change it. Therefore the target was not persons but the institution. We made this statement a number of times and the change which occurred in the south occurred through consultation and with the participation of the leadership of the region of the south. In order that they should be further reassured, I gave the command members an invitation Wednesday evening and they stayed with me until midnight, before the issuance of the organizational decree Thursday morning. We had to make the reform, but if it is assumed that we are going from bad to worse, that is not acceptable.

With respect to Hasan Hashim, he presented a true statement by which falsity was his objective. He has connections outside the framework of the movement and this is something that has been unearthed. His relations with 'Arafat's supporters were demonstrated to us, and he felt that a trial would be held

against him. He was in fact handed over to a trial and that step was ventured on in his regard. Every democratic organization which respects itself at least must be careful not to intervene bloodily, and this is something the AMAL movement has been careful about. God be praised, there was no blood, but the legitimate institutions of this democratic organization itself are entitled to condemn this perverse conduct which took place. Therefore a decree was issued expelling Hasan Hashim and he is now outside the framework of the movement. This is something that has been settled. Hasan Hashim is not the first person to have been expelled from the AMAL movement and we hope that he will be the last. However, as regards the action which occurred in the south, to the contrary it is proof of vigor. We could find that there is a need for a specific reform in other areas such as Beirut and the al-Biqa', and would not hesitate a single moment in this and would proceed in this direction.

AL-HAWADITH: What about the plan of the supporters of the army?

Nabih Birri: The AMAL movement has no connection with the issue of the supporters of the army, closely or remotely. The supporters of the army are the supporters of the sixth brigade. The Lebanese army takes them as volunteers and trains them. What is my connection with this subject? The army of the movement has existed for a time and it is in the al-Biqa', but the plan of the supporters of the sixth brigade is for Beirut and the south. What are the bases of this notion? The fact is that we discovered that the army command takes volunteers for the brigades belonging to it, and we learned more than that, that it has permitted national brigades to take 100 to 150 persons as volunteers and these people are being trained in al-Yarzeh, while there always is a moratorium on the sixth brigade on this subject, that is, they want to compel the sixth brigade to pay the price for its loyalty to Islamic Arab nationalist policy and the policy of the AMAL movement. In my capacity as minister of the south and minister of state and in my capacity as part of the regime like them, I gave the order that volunteers should be taken for the Lebanese army, and neither the AMAL movement nor I have any connection with them or the choice of them. They will be part of any conciliation in the future which occurs over the army. That is, I used my governmental right on this matter.

AL-HAWADITH: Let us address ourselves to the subject of the dispossessed persons. After the West Beirut incidents, a great uproar arose over the assassinations which occurred and therefore the subject of the dispossessed persons.

Nabih Birri: There is a story they tell in the south about Jiha. It is said that once he was trying to rest and there were children playing and shouting. He went up to them and told them that there was a wedding in the neighboring town. They jumped up to run toward the wedding. Then he thought a little and wondered, "Isn't it possible that there could indeed be a wedding? Why shouldn't I catch up with them?" And he caught up with them to make sure!

These techniques which some people who claim to be the left are proficient at, of course under Communist supervision, management and orchestration,

that is, the Lebanese Communist Party, we respect in many cases, but what is evident here is that they cannot fight Amin al-Jumayyil and cannot fight the Hizballah or Israel. They want a pretext, and they fought the people who were in their way. They thought it appropriate that they should strike at the AMAL movement because it has become the "working model." Would that it had! Ja'ja' has no preoccupation but the AMAL movement. Karim Baqraduni barks only up the AMAL movement's tree! Israel from the door of the Awwali! The Palestinians and the supporters of 'Arafat likewise. Look at the media. You hear only the matter of the blockade of the camps, "and we have heard it." Is anyone talking about the blockade of the region of the apples? About the boycott of the citrus and the fruit which is still going on in the south? A whole people are being blockaded while they are fighting Israel. One should bear in mind that we took the initiative and said, Brothers, we were mistaken, and you say that you do not want to extend yourselves. Let us repudiate the blockade together. We are ready to do it.

The Lebanese Communist Party knows for sure who launched the vile assaults on them and the late Husayn Muruwah, but "that's how it is." Because this bulwark known as the AMAL movement is dedicated to Lebanon, dedicated to its Arabhood and dedicated to the refusal to push through the schemes which more than one party in the national movement wants, they have concentrated on the AMAL movement. As Jiha did, that is -- "Children, there is a wedding in Sidon," so everyone rushed to Sidon. People believed there was a wedding in Sidon, then Jiha believed it too, the wedding ended, "make your appearance and come back." One should bear in mind that the statement by 'Abd-al-Majid Salih has its own flavor. He is the political official for the AMAL movement in the south and the brother of one of the martyrs who was treacherously killed, Ahmad Salih. That is, he is the first person to know if the AMAL movement really did expel them from the south or not, or whether it is reasonable that the AMAL movement should have killed 'Abd-al-Majid Salih's brother.

It is possible that the AMAL movement could be criticized for having been slightly deficient in terms of the consideration which led to these incidents and encompassed others besides the Communists, encompassing the AMAL movement as well. Of course, some of the justifications for this were that we were in an intense state of war, from al-Rashidiyah to Sidon, then the Israeli situation and the return of the Israelis to the border strip. The movement was stubbornly fighting Israel, and this led to some security "breakdown," which was one of the reasons for the change in the command of the region of the south. The shortcoming might be attributed to the AMAL movement, but what a difference there is between the misdemeanor of a shortcoming and the crime of murder! We do not claim that no shortcoming occurred, but we emphasize their lies and slander, and their lie that we attacked people and expelled them. Whoever wants to go back to the south is welcome to. If there is a committee of dispossessed persons consisting of 10 or 15 persons who fled on account of attacking the AMAL movement, there are hundreds of thousands of people in the AMAL movement against whom Israel has sinned, and this is not the first time the people of the AMAL movement are being sinned against.

AL-HAWADITH: The south is still under the control of the occupation forces and you consider that the road to liberation lies in resisting. Do you

consider that resistance, today, with its condition in the south is well, is on the proper road?

Nabih Birri: That is understood, most certainly. In spite of all the flaws that it is subjected to, the rate of resistance operations which can be attributed to the AMAL movement alone was nine last week, that is, more than one operation per day. There are other forms of resistance. We hope to develop this situation. Our recommendation is still in effect, which is aimed at the Communists and the Palestinians, if they still seek this road. Our recommendation is a joint operations room. We are most ready and have established it. Everyone who wants to take part in this room is welcome. We will offer a gun to the persons who do not have one. This is as far as the people who want to fight Israel are concerned. As for the people who want to "strut around" in the alleys, dominate the south and carry the card of the south to an international conference, they can proceed over our dead bodies. The south absolutely will not yield, after 1982.

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SHI'ITE JUDGE ASSESSES WAR'S SOCIAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 4-10 Apr 87 pp 21-23

[Interview with Saykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Hurr, Shi'ite judge and political leader, by Bakr al-Sharqawi: "Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Hurr, Judge of Lebanon's Ja'fari Court, to AL-TADAMUN: Collapse Dictates Uniting Security Administration and Political Solution Through Amendment of Constitution"]

[Text] Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Hurr is Beirut's Ja'fari judge and one of the important political figures in Lebanon. In 1976, he was chairman of the Islamic National Front, which was formed at the time by a number of Sunna and Shi'ite ulema to confront the sectarian division which the plot against Lebanon sought to spread in the Islamic society. This front continued to operate until the end of 1978. Moreover, Shaykh al-Hurr is a researcher and author. He has written dozens of jurisprudential research studies which have been published in Lebanon and the Arab countries. He has also written a book entitled "The Political Influence of the Economic Situation in Lebanon in the 19th Century." This book is a rehashing of the thesis for which he obtained his M.A. degree from the Science College in Cairo. He had earlier obtained his B.A. in Islamic and Arabic studies from the Jurisprudence College of Baghdad University. This is in addition to his acquiring the highest degree in religious sciences from the venerable al-Najar. Al-Hurr's second book is entitled "'Abd-al-Husayn Sharaf-al-Din, A Leader in Learning, Thought, and Struggle."

He is a writer, intellectual, and judge who actively lives with the people's problems and amidst their events. This is why AL-TADAMUN's interview with Al-Hurr touches on numerous social, legal, and political issues. The interview was conducted a few weeks ago during the enlightened Ja'fari shaykh's stay in London. The first question was:

[Question] From your position as a judge, what is the other side of the war in Lebanon?

[Answer] The other side of the civil war in Lebanon is the fundamental disintegration and rupture that have afflicted the family as a result of the change in social customs and family bonds that had dominated family life in Lebanon. I can say that the rifle's impact on the family balance has been very extensive.

[Question] What forms does this influence take?

[Answer] We often find that a family member belongs to one armed organization and another member belongs to an opposing organization. Consequently, conflict develops within the same family between one brother and another, between father and son, or between brother and sister. Contradictions develop and father takes one side while mother takes another. The contradictions then develop into clashes that tear the family apart and lead to separation and divorce.

The courts face numerous such cases in which divorce occurs because of the children's affiliation with organizations. For example, a wife sued her husband because he wanted his son to keep his rifle and to adhere to the thought of one of the armed organizations. She did not want to soil her hands with the blood of the civil war. In the court, we found the father determined to have his son continue carrying his weapon on the pretext that the son has a cause and that the father believes in the rightness of his son's position. Because the two sides insisted on their viewpoints, the case continued to be viewed by the courts and culminated with the demand for and with the granting of a divorce.

[Question] Has the war introduced a new reason for divorce--a reason previously unknown to jurisprudence?

[Answer] Correct.

[Question] Have the courts' divorce decisions increased due to this reason?

[Answer] Due to this reason and to others emanating from the war's psychological and social impact. If we examine the personal status records, we would find that the divorce rate has risen enormously. By a simple comparison, we find that divorce did not exceed 6 to 7 percent prior to 1975 whereas from 1983, this rate has risen to 25 percent, meaning that one of every four marriages is ending in divorce. This is a fearfully high percentage when measured against the realism of the Lebanese society which believes that the one permissible thing most hateful to God is divorce. This other side of the civil war has a stronger impact on the Lebanese than bullets, booby-trapped vehicles, and indiscriminate shells.

[Question] As you see it, what is the impact of the economic situation on the Lebanese family?

[Answer] The economic situation has no lesser impact than the armed situation on the Lebanese family. We have seen numerous cases of Lebanese families whose economic life had followed a certain pattern before the war intensified. Because of the war, that economic pattern has changed. A family head may have lost his business which had molded his economic life according to the income from that business. Such a family head now lives in worry and his living standard has declined, thus creating a certain psychological condition for his wife and his family members. Such a condition often leads to reactions and surprises unknown before. The family character becomes one of inability to endure. Couples begin to reject each other and divorce quickly becomes a solution even though it is not really the solution.

[Question] What about Lebanon's children today?

[Answer] They are the segment of society most strongly affected by this cancer. We have begun to see numerous children rejecting their parents as a result of the rupture in family. Such children usually run away and disappear and we hear nothing about them. There are numerous cases of children's disappearance. As for those who cannot run away, and they are the majority of course, they suffer from a repression which will only find its way to explosion in the future and which will have a negative impact on the Lebanese society's future social life. This will cause us to face numerous problems.

[Question] It is obvious from this that the problems of Lebanon's living are bigger than just the problem of death?

[Answer] This is correct, even though the problems of death take a different legal form.

[Question] How?

[Answer] The problems of death are impending problems, meaning that they are not appearing at present but will appear in the future. There are thousands missing and thousands killed whose bodies have not been recovered. What is the law's position on this issue? The law does not acknowledge a person's death unless the body is shown. Thus, the courts may not acknowledge that a person is legally dead until 15 years have passed since his disappearance.

[Question] This means that numerous families will not be able to settle any inheritance problem until such a period has passed?

[Answer] Such cases have begun to emerge now. Therefore, the courts now resort to managing on their own such funds, inheritance, or estate registered in the name of missing persons. All we can do in such a case is to provide the maximum care possible in managing such funds and in curtailing the management costs to the lowest limit possible. But this approach is likely to obstruct the interests of the other family members who have lost their supporter.

[Question] This is Lebanon's image as you see it from your position as a judge. But you are not a judge only. You also have a prominent political history, especially during the period in which you headed the Islamic National Front. How do you view the conditions now?

[Answer] The existence of internecine fighting is what preoccupies our minds at present. We wish we could uproot this existence so that we may restore unity to all the Muslims and so that they may be in control of their united decision as a prelude to uniting all of Lebanon.

[Question] You thus find that it is essential to restore unity to all the Muslims. What is your opinion of the current increase and dissemination of the religious movements in Lebanon?

[Answer] Religious movement to defend one's country is a religious requirement and a duty dictated by the Islamic Shari'a. The religious tendency we have seen confronting Israel and the role of the clergymen played in forcing Israel to

withdraw from parts of Lebanon are nothing but an obvious example of the effect of the religious role in defeating God's enemies.

[Question] But don't you think that these religious movements are actually political movements and that they have been formed in reaction to the events?

[Answer] A modern philosopher was asked why the early Muslims achieved victories and conquests of which the contemporary generation cannot dream, and his answer was: When the Muslims looked toward heaven, they possessed both heaven and earth, and when they looked toward earth, they lost both heaven and earth.

[Question] This seems to be your personal opinion?

[Answer] Call it whatever you wish. But it is the fact.

[Question] It is noticed that the increase in the number of religious movements in Lebanon or even elsewhere in the Arab countries comes at the expense of Arabism and Arabdom. What is your opinion in this connection?

[Answer] I consider Arabism a reservoir for spreading the Islamic call, keeping in mind that the venerable Koran, which is the constitution of Islam, was revealed in Arabic and addressed the Islamic nation with the words: "We have sent it down as an Arabic Koran in order that ye may learn wisdom." Arabic is the instrument for spreading the Islamic call.

[Question] But can we know what is the line separating Arabism from Islam because this issue is raised sharply, either openly or in a concealed manner, in the Arab societies?

[Question] If what is meant by Arabism is to unite the Arab society, to care for its affairs, and to organize its living and intellectual conditions, then this is approved by all the divine and human laws. But if what is meant by Arabism is to favor the Arab race over the other human races, then this is rejected religiously because no Arab shall be favored over a foreigner, unless for piety.

[Question] In your books, research, and articles, we find that your area of interest is broad, extending from religion to economy and to politics, and that this interest has been coupled with prolonged action in all these fields. Moreover, your works abound with new ideas expressed through the Ja'fari creed which you represent. What, in your opinion, would be Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq's judgment on what is happening if the imam lived in our time?

[Answer] If Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq lived in the present time, he would have cut off numerous heads claiming to be Muslim, would have worked to unite the remaining pious Muslims so that they may be in the true position of Islam, and would have renounced all discrimination or radicalism not serving mankind.

[Question] As long as we have reached the present time, what is your opinion of the present situation in Beirut?

[Answer] The current situation in Beirut has reached such a degree of economic and military collapse that it has affected the armed elements themselves.

Therefore, a new formula must be found to unite the security leadership so that the responsibility may become clear now that the truth has been lost.

[Question] But what is the political solution?

[Answer] The political solution comes by giving everybody his due and by amending the constitution in such a manner as to preserve the interests of the citizens from the various sects.

[Question] This is the inter-Lebanese solution. But what about the Palestinian-Shi'ite conflict which has horrified the entire world with its dimensions and consequences?

[Answer] The Palestinian-Shi'ite conflict in Lebanon harbors in its folds political positions as it harbors patriotic local positions. When we learn that Lebanon has been the field for the Arab conflicts for more than 10 years, then we can understand the nature of the Palestinian Shi'ite military conflict.

[Question] Is there no solution?

[Answer] First, this is a conflict in which both the Lebanese and Palestinian causes lose a lot of their meaning as a result of this division and of this turning away from the main objective of confronting the Zionist enemy and his expansionist ambitions in Lebanon and in the Arab homeland as a whole.

Second, the state of war between the Palestinians and the Lebanese must be ended by drafting a new charter after abolishing the Cairo agreement so that all efforts may be channelled toward confronting Israel, especially since we have learned of the intention of the parties concerned to proceed with the plan to hold an international conference to solve the Middle East issue in the presence of all the parties, including the PLO.

[Question] As an intellectual, how do you view this crushing war in Lebanon?

[Answer] From what time?

[Question] From the beginning, i.e., from about 1975?

[Answer] I condemn this war in its entirety. We are against arms and armed people and we hope that Lebanon will overcome this armed situation because arms bring nothing but destruction to all parties.

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DANI SHAM'UN DISCUSSES SYRIAN FORCES' ENTRY INTO WEST BEIRUT

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 4-10 Apr 87 pp 23-25

[Interview with National Liberal Party Chairman Dani Sham'un: "Dani Sham'un to AL-TADAMUN: "Part of Bill for Syrian Military Entry into Beirut Is To Free Hostages"]

[Test] Engineer Dani Sham'un, the National Liberal Party chairman, who took an active part in toopling the "tirpartite agreement" last year, has been one of the people most strongly and openly opposed to the latest Syrian military entry tino West Beirut. He even demands withdrawal of the Syrians and beleives that nothing has essentially changed in the situation. Why doesn't Sham'un agree to the Syrian entry to spread security in West Beirut? What is his position on the "Damascus agreement"? What are the points he opposes and the points he approves? What, in his opinion, will happen in the wake of the Syrian deployment? What has changed? Is he a candidate in the forthcoming presidential campaign? AL-TADAMUN has taken these and numerous other questions to Dani Sham'un with whom it has had the following interview:

[Question] Why does the Christian side oppose the Syrian entry at a time when it seems that the Syrians are the only force capable of imposing security in West Beirut?

[Answer] We will explain the reasons for our opposition to the issue. We are definitely not against West Beirut's restoration of its security, especially since only the main mover creating the situation could put a stop to it. The main mover behind the situation has been Syria. Syria has entered, but not for Lebanon, its sovereignty, and its legitimate government. We have not said a thing about the West Beirut security situation which we have been viewing with extreme concern and it has been impossible for us to accept what is happening. If Syria had actually entered to restore the legitimate security and situation to West Beirut, it would not have created this situation to start with and it would not have entered with disregard for Lebanon's legitimate institutions.

[Question] Do you mean that Syria was behind touching off the situation so that it may enter?

[Answer] Undoubtedly. Syria has entered under the cover of establishing security even though it has been the main party to the conflict. Syria even forced the socialists to let five ammunition trucks pass for Amal's use and that ammunition was used the following day against the socialists.

[Question] So in your opinion, what is the motive for the Syrian entry?

[Answer] The motive is the constant Syrian ambition to control Lebanon, to dictate Syria's will to the Lebanese legitimate government, to strip away Lebanon's sovereignty, and to enfold Lebanon within the "Syrian state."

[Question] But the Syrians are present in nearly 70 percent of the Lebanese territories. Did they need West Beirut to confirm their presence?

[Answer] Beirut is the capital and final control of the legitimate government comes through the capital. Israel had in the past expelled Syria from the capital. Thus the Syrians have had the psychological and political ambition to return to the capital in order to save face before the Syrian people. The entry has also come as a result of international pressures, the most significant of which is the hostage issue. What is also more important is that the infighting between the allies caused Syria to lose a number of cards it had held in its hand. Syria has returned to regain these cards. After Syria had entered West Beirut and imposed its military control over it, it summoned its allies to Damascus so that they may come up with the story that they agreed on a "national concord plan."

[Question] So Syria has thus regained the Lebanese card and the Palestinian card?

[Answer] It has regained nothing. The Lebanese card continues to be held by the independent Lebanese areas. But Syria is maneuvering and talking in order to make its presence in Lebanon legitimate. For sometime now--from the time prior to the "tripartite agreement"--Syria has been trying to legitimize its presence in Lebanon. But frankly, this presence is not legitimate. Rather, it is an occupation.

[Question] And what now in the wake of the Syrian deployment?

[Answer] It is as it was in the past. To us, nothing has essentially changed. The change is in form only. Instead of having the militias present in the arena by themselves, they are now present with more munitions and weapons from the Syrian army.

As for the security aspect, we now have greater reservation as to the number of Syrian troops present there. Syrian intelligence has been sending us booby-trapped vehicles and other devices. The only thing that has changed is, as I have already said, the form.

[Question] Has Syria entered with the approval of all the Islamic and national factions?

[Answer] We will not name the sect. Under the pressure of infighting, thefts, and house raids, West Beirut's inhabitants cried for help. Inevitably, Syria was the side to respond to this situation which it has created in the first place. Syria's pretext has been that of restoring security to this area and of freeing the "Western" hostages. The Western countries have turned a blind eye to Syria's action in anticipation of what Syria will produce within a certain time limit.

[Question] So has Syria entered with international approval?

[Answer] Certainly, because the Western countries are unable to free their hostages. Having been made a laughingstock with their involvement in the weapon deals to have their citizens released, facing protests from their peoples and in order that they may not send their troops to fighting and to death, the Western countries have played the Syrian card, even though we believe it will be a losing card. We have accurate information to the effect that the four professors from the American University of Beirut and Terry Waite are now in Syrian hands and that they were previously in Burj al-Murr under Amal's control. They are supposed to be released as soon as possible.

[Question] Is this the bill Syria will have to pay?

[Answer] This is part of the bill. The other part is entry into the southern suburb, which is Hizbullah's stronghold. But Iran is an obstacle in the way at present. The bill also includes releasing the other hostages held in the territories controlled by Syria. It is our opinion that Syria is responsible for the kidnapping of the hostages and for their presence in that area. Syria cannot shirk this responsibility and the West is confronting Syria with it.

[Question] Don't you think that there are regional and international circumstances which have dictated this Syrian entry? What I mean is that there are serious moves to end the Gulf war and a lot is being said about holding an international conference to end the Middle East crisis, with Lebanon as the starting point.

[Answer] I believe that the Syrian vacillation on the West Beirut issue, on the hostages, and on the dealings with Iran has been tied to the outcome of the Iranian offensive against al-Basrah. There were those who expected al-Basrah to fall but this has not happened.

The Western countries turned a blind eye to Syria for a time to give it the opportunity to rid itself of the international terrorist character attached to it and to return to the international community by entering West Beirut, spreading the legitimate government's control over it and restoring it to Lebanon's territories, and releasing the foreign hostages.

But Syria has entered in violation of the legitimate Lebanese government's control. This is the first violation. Second, upon entering West Beirut, the Syrian army did not behave like an army in its treatment of some Lebanese, as in the case of the Fathallah Barracks incident with Hizbullah, the daily discovery of murdered people, and the case of opening fire on people. This action is illegal and the Lebanese army would never do such a thing. West Beirut is not living under the security conditions about which they are talking. Homes are constantly raided, apartments are seized, and people are arrested.

[Question] What we have heard and understood is that the Syrian entry constitutes the first step in the process of putting Lebanon on the path to a solution.

[Answer] We do not feel the presence of serious Syrian intentions to solve the crisis. Those who went to Damascus have created a major contradiction. They

met and decided: Here is the concord plan we have agreed upon and the president of the republic of Lebanon must accept it and shoulder its responsibilities. This happened at a time when the president was still sending envoys to hold dialogue and to consult with the Syrians on the Still existing points of disagreement.

It is my belief that Syria is trying to create a climate that conceals its failure in West Beirut and the suburb and to create new disagreement between the Lebanese factions, meaning between East and West Beirut, in order that it may stir the traditional fighting axes anew.

[Question] What are the points in the Damascus declaration, which you do not approve?

[Answer] Where is the president's role? It has become superficial. If we are talking about participation in government, then where is the Christian participation? This is the only question. 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam has tailored a robe for each of them: Husayn al-Husayni is to be elected for a 4-year term and Rashid Karami is to be elected by the Chamber of Deputies to become prime minister for an indefinite period. If they are demanding constitutional amendments, then we all demand such amendments and demand that they rise to the level of the developments experienced by our society. These amendments must pass through the institutional channels and rules and must be presented to the people. We must alert the people and explain to them the nature of the new system.

[Question] With their agreement on the Damascus declaration, they believe that they have put the ball in the Christian court. What is your opinion?

[Answer] They have missed the court altogether. Their shot has missed the mark.

[Question] The Damascus declaration reflects the viewpoint they all hold. What is now required of the regime, of the Lebanese Forces, and of the East Beirut leaders is to present their plan.

[Answer] We still move within the procession led by the president of the republic. But they have refused to receive the president's envoys. Moreover, is their plan a serious plan?

[Question] What does Hani Salam do with his shuttle trips to Damascus?

[Answer] Ask Hani himself. He has not contacted me today. But I will say that "things are not going right for them. Their shot has missed the mark."

[Question] They demand that the legitimate government make up its mind and take control of East Beirut through the Lebanese army.

[Answer] The Lebanese army is deployed in all parts of East Beirut and on all the contact lines. I have demanded, (Samir Ja'ja' asked me to be in charge of this issue) that the Lebanese army be deployed on all fronts. We have no objection. This army is deployed from the port of Kfarshima, in Suq al-Gharb, in

Bakfayya, in 'Uyun al-Siman, and in al-Madfun. The Lebanese army is present. The internal security forces are also present and they are performing thier tasks. We cannot ask the legitimate government for more, and we give this government all aid and support.

[Question] What, in your opinion, is the army's role at present?

[Answer] To begin with, the army's real role is to impose the state's authority, to disarm the people, and then to return to its barracks and hand over affairs to the basic legitimate authorities, including the internal security forces and the courts, so that it may proceed to guard Lebanon's borders. This is the army's main role. But Syria is preventing the army from performing its role. Are we the ones who attacked the army barracks? Why has the army been prevented from carrying out its tasks in Tripoli and why have the barracks been shelled? Are we the ones preventing the Lebanese army in the "scouting area" in Zgharta and al-Kurah from assuming its duties? Are we the ones who disbanded the 12th Brigade in Sidon?

[Question] Considering that the Lebanese army is not performing its role, does this mean it is incapable?

[Answer] This is because instead of enlisting the help of the 6th, 12th, and 1st Brigades to participate in removing the militias and handing over security to the legitimate government, the Syria-supported politicians ran far when Syria summoned them and asked for the Syrian army, which has given them a short respite but which will destroy them later on.

[Question] Why, in your opinion, have not the Syrians entered the suburb?

[Answer] They cannot do so. The issue is connected with Iran, which has its conditions. A Syrian entry into the suburb dictates abandoning the strategic agreement with Iran.

[Question] People in East Beirut live in a climate of fear and terror of the recurrence of incidents in East Beirut in anticipation of the deployment of the Lebanese army, as has happened in West Beirut. What is your opinion?

[Answer] This confusing propaganda is spread by Syria. The army has no plans to strike at the Lebanese forces and the forces have no plans to strike at the army. The situation is calm and we hope that it will continue to be so.

[Question] Do you think that by taking control of West Beirut, Syria has also taken control of the Palestinian card?

[Answer] Abu 'Ammar is the one in control of the Palestinian card and he is the only one who may have accomplished something, even if temporarily.

[Question] What has he accomplished? What has he gained?

[Answer] He has made no gains but he has preserved his entity in the camps. Syria has failed in its task to enable Amal to occupy the camps.

[Question] Was the Salvation Front, not Amal, supposed to take over control of the camps?

[Answer] This is what the West must understand: Is the ongoing camps war intended to eliminate the armed Palestinian presence, or to eliminate Abu 'Ammar from the camps? It is actually intended to eliminate Abu 'Ammar and to return the Popular Front, the Democratic Front, and the dissidents. The Palestinian situation remains unchanged, as has the case in Tripoli and al-Biqa' camps.

[Question] In your opinion, why hasn't Israel opposed the Syrian entry?

[Answer] Israel wants to please the West primarily. The Israelis believe that Syria will eliminate Abu 'Ammar from the game. Israel's main enemy is the PLO, embodied in Abu 'Ammar, which enjoys international recognition of its legitimate representation of the Palestinians. By having Syria strike Abu 'Ammar, Israel will have achieved one of its most important objectives.

[Question] Do you think Israel may return to Lebanon?

[Answer] Nobody knows that Israel will do. Israel has its own opinions regarding the international peace conference.

[Question] The road to the airport has become secure and major preparations are underway to reopen Beirut International Airport. What will be the fate of Halat Airport?

[Answer] Halat Airport will be opened, God willing. I support Halat to the end. The Syrians are still present on the Beirut Airport road. Those who went to Cyprus by sea did so because of the Syrian presence on the airport road. Nothing has changed.

[Question] Prime Minister Rashid Karami launched the presidential battle some-time ago and spelled out the qualities of the new president. Why, in your opinion, did he pick this particular time?

[Answer] Don't forget that Prime Minister Karami ran for the presidency in 1976. He may be sewing a "robe" for himself.

[Question] We are approaching the presidential battle. Are you a candidate?

[Answer] Possibly, if all goes well.

[Question] What is the influence of the Syrian presence on the issue?

[Answer] We will see in time.

8494/12232

CSO: 4404/317

TRADE MINISTER EVALUATES COALITION GOVERNMENT

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 6-12 May 87 p 11

[Interview with Trade Minister Muhammad Yusuf Abu Hurayrah by Talhah Jabril: "Some Parties' Participation in the Sudanese Cabinet Is a Threat to Democracy"]

[Text] Dr Muhammad Yusuf Abu Hurayrah has been known since he assumed his position as minister of trade and supply in the Sudan for his bold "radical" decrees, which are aimed at putting a limit to corruption. Dr Abu Hurayrah belongs to the Democratic Union Party, and in the course of their endless discussions, in describing the current Sudanese cabinet, the Sudanese say that it is "the government of al-Sadiq and Abu Hurayrah." This expression is one of great brevity.

Talhah Jabril conversed with him in Morocco, and here is the text of the conversation:

[Question] The coalition government sometimes seem discordant. Some people consider that the problems of the Democratic Union Party, the weak element in the coalition, are negatively reflected on the performance of the cabinet, to the point where its ministers' conflicting policies are the opposite of the situation that exists with respect to the al-Ummah Party ministers. What is your comment?

[Answer] I believe that there is harmony among the union ministers within the cabinet as far as most issues go, and that also applies to the al-Ummah Party ministers. There of course are people who deviate from the rule, and one might perhaps be a union minister.

[Question] It is also said that the government's policy is subjected basically to the al-Ummah Party's directives and the role of the Democratic Union Party in it is almost nonexistent.

[Answer] The inspiration for this impression might be that the prime minister is at the same time chairman of the al-Ummah Party. However, if we carefully consider the particulars and the details, we will find that the Democratic Union Party ministers are playing an important role in formulating

and carrying out the government's policies, especially in the sectors they are in charge of running. The fact is that in the realm of practice I do not find anything to bolster this impression that you referred to.

[Question] It is repeatedly being said that a dispute exists between you and the Democratic Union Party regarding the policies you are applying in the Ministry of Trade and that these policies have caused grumbling within the party, which includes many merchants whose commercial interests your decrees have touched upon in its ranks. What is your view?

[Answer] It is true that there is a difference in views between some members of the party and me, but what concerns me is that the masses of the Democratic Union Party are enthusiastic over this policy. That is what I personally have sensed inside and outside the Sudan. Similarly, in the framework of the parliamentary contingent, there is an acceptance of my policy. The measures I have taken have also met with satisfaction and acceptance from the party overseer and its secretary general. The most important aspect of the matter is that these policies are subject to discussion within the parliamentary contingent from time to time. Of course I do not deny that there are people whose interests have been harmed, inside the Democratic Union Party, in the al-Ummah Party or even in the National Islamic Front. They will not accept these policies because they conflict with their interests, although they are in keeping with the interests of the Sudan.

[Question] It is also said that you are content to coordinate with the prime minister and do not consult with the union ministers or the party as political leaders.

[Answer] That is not true. There are some decrees which I have taken and the prime minister learned about them only after they were declared!

[Question] Are these policies discussed in the framework of the Council of Ministers?

[Answer] There are some policies which are discussed in the context of the committee of economic sector ministers and in the context of the Council of Ministers. Most of the Ministry of Trade's policies during this period have been discussed in these two contexts.

[Question] An uproar has been provoked over the trade protocol between Egypt and the Sudan. Some Egyptian circles accuse you, and you are a minister belonging to the Democratic Union Party, of having helped add to the apathy that dominated the two countries' relations because of your position vis-a-vis commercial dealings between the two countries.

[Answer] What is said is one thing and the reality is something else. What I requested during my meetings with the Egyptian officials was concern for the common interests of the two countries on grounds that a smooth flow of trade between the Sudan and Egypt would not be realized if the exchange rate of the accounts dollar in Sudanese pounds was not reviewed. What happened is that the Egyptian government reviewed the exchange rate so that it would rise from 70 piasters to 1.007 pounds. The problem was transcended after the

agreement of the brothers on the Egyptian side to my recommendation and we signed the joint trade protocol.

[Question] The uproar was perhaps stirred up because you are a minister belonging to a party which devotes great care to the issue of the particular nature of the Sudanese-Egyptian relationship.

[Answer] That statement has been made, as if the Democratic Union Party is bargaining over the interests of the Sudan. Our relations with Egypt are warm and historic, but the Sudan's interests must not be harmed by the particular nature of relations.

[Question] Now that it has been decided in principle to hold the general conference of the Democratic Union Party next June, do you believe in the possibility of introducing a cabinet change following the holding of the conference?

[Answer] Any party's general conference will produce results which might be different from the situation before it convened, whether the matter is related to its command, its political directives or its representatives within the cabinet, if it is participating in the cabinet.

[Question] With respect to the talk that is circulating now on the National Islamic Front's participation in the current cabinet, what is your position, as unionists?

[Answer] That subject has not been discussed in the context of the Democratic Union Party.

[Question] If we assume that your partner in the cabinet (the al-Ummah Party) has presented the subject, what will your position be like?

[Answer] My personal position is that there have been political obstacles in the context of programs and conduct during the era of the former regime, during the transitional period, during the elections and even during the current democratic period which have been obstructing the participation of some parties in the coalition cabinet, especially the National Islamic Front, and I believe that the problem of some parties in the coalition cabinet, especially the front, entails very great risk with respect to the future of democracy in the Sudan.

[Question] How then do you explain that some leaders in your party are connected by strong ties to the National Islamic Front, and indeed sometimes write in their papers?

[Answer] In spite of my position, which I have mentioned, concerning the National Islamic Front, I personally have good relations with some members of its political bureau.

JUDICIARY CHIEF DISCUSSES PROBLEMS WITH COURT CONGESTION

Khartoum AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 26 Apr 87 p 5

[Interview with Dr 'Ali Ibrahim al-Imam, chairman of capital judiciary system: "The Citizens' Awareness Is behind the Increase in Judiciary Activity!"]

[Text] Dr 'Ali Ibrahim al-Imam, chairman of the judiciary system in the national capital, spoke to AL-SIYASAH.

He shed light on many of the difficulties obstructing judiciary activity in general and in the capital in particular, as well as the indices that have resulted in increased judiciary activity recently. He said that the independence of the judiciary did not mean the establishment of a state within a state.

Dr 'Ali, with his judiciary and legal expertise and his independent personality, has led the national committee on elections, the greatest outcome of which was the formation of the current cabinet following elections which were characterized by control, integrity and soundness of competition. He spoke with AL-SIYASAH in this interview about the judiciary, at a remove from the arena of elections.

[Question] What are your estimates of the volume of judiciary activity at the present time in comparison with past years?

[Answer] Statistics affirm that the volume of judiciary activity has increased greatly in recent years and still is constantly increasing. That may be attributed to a number of factors, most important of which is the rise in the level of awareness among citizens, the establishment of large sections, extensions and complete new residential towns and the increase in the population, in addition to social and economic transformations in the lives of the citizens and the change in the pattern of living as a result of the circumstances of migration and life abroad, the establishment of agricultural projects, the penetration of areas of industrialization and the shift of some pastoral societies and groups to farming and of some farmers to workers. This has all had its repercussions in different aspects of life on judiciary questions.

[Question] Is there an increase in the number of judges and other judiciary personnel to cope with the increase in the volume and burdens of judiciary work?

[Answer] Certainly, the number of judges has increased greatly in comparison with their number in the two previous periods, but we find some of these judges on fellowships, some delegated to work in other non-judiciary organizations, bodies and entities, and yet others involved full time in judiciary and quasi-judiciary activities such as the judiciary courts which have taken place this year and last year, the investigation committees and the committees to settle quarrels (the arbitration committees) and participation in some committees where use will be made of the judges; these are many and various. In order for us to get a more accurate picture in learning about the increase and immensity of the volume of activity, let us take as an example statistics which show the activity of the felony courts in the national capital in the period July-August-September 1986 (the table below shows this) [see following two pages].

[Question] The statistics show that there is a discrepancy in the rate of verdicts, since we find that the rate of verdicts in some courts has come to 99.5 percent and in some to 25.4 percent. What is that attributable to?

[Answer] To a large extent, the question of the difference and discrepancy in the magnitude of verdicts in cases from one court to another is governed by many things, among them the speed of the judges present in the court in passing judgment on cases, in addition to the presence of auxiliary judiciary personnel and staff.

By this we mean policemen, bailiffs and employees who prepare and set out the cases before the courts. The judge might be fully ready but the case is not prepared for judgment because of the absence of litigants, the inability to bring the accused on the part of the usher or the absence of witnesses, which has a negative effect on the performance of the judge and is also reflected on the output of the court.

[Question] Does that mean that if these things are present they will have a positive effect on the performance of the court?

[Answer] Certainly. Inevitably some obstacles or defects exist and if these things are present they will remedy a large part of the delay in the review of cases and will help in the thorough prosecution of justice. We can specify the most important thing that we are lacking in this area: that is the presence of adequate offices for judges and courts. An example of that is the North Khartoum Felony Court. There we can find four district judges and more than eight criminal judges, and it has just six offices. In the south traffic court, we find that that is currently operating in a rented house which has seven offices and 10 judges, including two district judges. In the personal status departments we find that in the court of the personal status departments in Khartoum a large number of judges are crammed together, much more numerous than the offices, and there is no way to expand that by increasing the offices, because they are operating in a rented house. In spite

Statistics Showing Activity in the Felony Courts in the National Capital in the Period July-August-September 1986

Name of Court	Cases Dealt with								
	Waiting At Start of Period	New During Period	Total Dealt with	Summary	Non-Summary	Other	Total Dealt with	Waiting at End of Period	Percent of Judgments
1. North Khartoum Felony	1,164	1,193	2,357	478	57	950	1,440	917	61.1
2. South Khartoum Felony	451	1,101	1,552	547	29	424	1,000	552	54.4
3. South Extension Felony	2,521	2,050	4,571	452	43	666	1,161	341	35.4
4. East Khartoum Felony	11	353	364	174	11	177	362	2	99.5
5. East Khartoum Felony(A)	483	249	732	145	5	30	180	552	24.6
6. East Khartoum Felony(B)	227	119	346	84	1	35	120	226	34.7
7. Al-Shajarah Felony	49	164	213	171	4	35	210	3	98.6
8. Al-Kalakilah Felony	155	917	1,072	129	27	177	333	739	31.1
9. Jabal Awliya' Felony	328	163	491	182	--	--	182	309	37.1
10. Omdurman Central Felony	315	590	905	284	170	313	667	238	73.7
11. Omdurman South Felony	134	708	842	457	33	332	823	20	67.6

12. Omdurman North Felony	64	203	267	89	45	2	136	131	50.9
13. Omdurman West Felony	294	380	674	287	5	--	292	382	43.3
14. New Omdurman Felony	719	1,291	2,010	801	69	570	1,440	570	71.6
15. Al-Mahdiyah and al-Thawrah Felony	123	692	815	290	42	225	557	258	68.3
16. Khartoum Bahari Felony	662	535	1,197	339	65	294	698	499	58.3
17. East Bahari (Hillah Kuku) Felony	5,383	835	6,218	417	54	1,200	1,671	4,547	26.9
18. Umm Dawaban Felony	13	21	34	14	--	--	14	20	41.2
19. Al-'Aylafun Felony	24	17	41	18	--	1	19	22	46.3
20. Al-Halfayah Felony	608	490	1,098	122	7	269	398	700	36.2
21. Al-Jilli Felony	53	23	76	20	--	10	30	46	39.4
Grand Total	13,781	12,094	25,875	5,500	6,067	5,565	11,732	14,143	45.3

of that, we find that a laudable effort has been made in the direction of providing more offices to the courts by the specialized bodies and we hope that this effort and endeavor will be crowned with success. The deficiencies which need rapid, decisive rectification include the matter of declaring and bringing in the accused and setting up criminal cases at their specified times so that people will not become exasperated by this repeated appearance at postponed sessions and so that the accused people waiting will not remain in the guard stations for long periods. This matter requires the coordination of efforts of numerous bodies. I had previously presented this matter to the commissioner of the national capital and the director of the police so that this matter would be dealt with as soon as possible, especially since the summer period is imminent, and we have come up with specific solutions and recommendations which I hope will bring these things we have come up with into practice so that we will be able to deal with a large part of the problems facing the courts in a rapid review of the cases of the people who are waiting.

[Question] What are these solutions and recommendations which have been determined in this regard?

[Answer] As you know, most of the people waiting are present in Omdurman prison and the police guard stations. Since the Omdurman prison is an ancient one which was not built to cope with the current circumstances and we are approaching the summer season, it is necessary to review the subject of solutions which will reduce the number of people waiting in this prison. We confirmed that the most important factor in the delay in review of felony cases was the failure to announce witnesses and accused persons and bring them from the guard posts, sometimes because of a lack of communications or the preoccupation of policemen with other activities such as cases of preparing or resolving disputes. The solutions to which we have agreed have ensured the provision of six specialized vehicles for dispatching waiting persons and following up on the renewal of their imprisonment orders. The commissioner of the national capital has promised to provide these vehicles, and he has agreed to assign the policemen working in the courts to this activity on a full time basis until the judiciary police project is completed and established, if that can be facilitated. We for our part have promised to support the bailiffs in the courts with more bicycles and motorcycles and we have started to carry out this commitment and have made great progress. There is another aspect, which is the brother judges' concern to perform their duty. They are the people most concerned with the requirements of total, speedy justice, and we hope that they will be provided with the circumstances and wherewithal which will enable them to carry out this duty.

[Question] To what extent have these solutions and recommendations which have been agreed upon and whose execution has been promised been carried out?

[Answer] There has been no achievement worth mentioning. The communications problem still is pending and the brothers in the police have not committed themselves to assigning these specialists to the courts on a full time basis. Although they have issued a bulletin expressing their commitment in this regard, we are still receiving complaints from the judges that the bailiffs and ushers in the courts have not been put to work full time.

[Question] The expression "independence of the judiciary" circulated in people's minds a great deal before the approval of the constitutional amendments and in the period in which they were presented and discussed in the various media and symposia. What is meant by this expression?

[Answer] In my opinion, most succinctly, the independence of the judiciary means the independence of the judiciary body and the independence of the judge in making his decision. When reference is made to the independence of the judiciary body, that does not mean that it be a state within a state but that it be a part that complements the other agencies of the government. What is meant by the judiciary's independence is its being given the power to perform its role as one of the foundations of authority in the government without guidance and being provided the wherewithal for the independence it requires, for instance that it be provided financial independence and its judges be surrounded with a wall of deference. This requires that living circumstances and moral and economic circumstances be provided for the judges and that they be given suitable status among the members of the society. The judge who rushes after public transportation to reach his place of work from remote, distant places gets to his place in the court exhausted and sometimes arrives retying his tie and straightening himself up as he is entering the court. A judge who does not find an office or court in which to work throughout the day lacks the most important attribute of the job. Out of concern for all this and because of these circumstances, we have striven and efforts are still related to the treatment of these problems, and it appears that great progress has been made in this context.

[Question] It is well known among us that one of the duties of the judge is to maintain his aplomb. What is the judges' role in maintaining their aplomb, in the view of your excellence?

[Answer] A great role devolves upon the judges in asserting and guaranteeing the independence of the judges and in shrouding the judge in the garb of reverence. Providing the judges with aplomb and honoring them does not come about just through the provision of material resources, work instruments and courts established through the provision of means of transport. Rather, the conduct of the judge and the understanding of his duties and morality are a complementary and very important part of his acquisition of the mark of veneration and respect. Here we must state that to be "well dressed" or to be characterized as one of the prophets does not mean being a judge; rather, his conduct must be upright and he must not give himself free rein to create broad social relations which are not limited and sometimes contradict the nature of his work. His thinking and effort must be devoted to judiciary work and in all his decisions he must be committed to neutrality, integrity and seriousness, removed from party and political influences, and must rule by inspiration from his conscience in accordance with the requirements of the law. Therefore we find that the second half of the independence of the judges is what is desired, and that is very great. What is desired cannot be evaluated by price. What is desired of them is to determine their relations and social activities and to be remote from politics and party affiliations.

[Question] It is said that the presence of a union for judges is contrary to veneration and the principle of justice. What is your comment on that?

[Answer] According to my modest expertise and the statutes of judiciary activity I have read in many countries, I have not heard of a judiciary organization or organization of requirements. The issue of party organizations is not compatible with judges' activity unless there are specific circumstances and national, domestic motives which call for all people to rally about a specific, great objective; in that case there is no embarrassment. Union activity might be in keeping with other professions, but I do not imagine that these include the profession of the judiciary.

[Question] Judges, like others, need an institution which will bring them together. Don't you believe that an institution which will bring them together is a necessary thing?

[Answer] The presence of an institution for the judiciary is something important and beneficial in linking judges to one another. I believe that the time of many of them, during the hours of work, does not allow for the creation of mutual personal ties, but as to the question of a union organization, I consider that the laws themselves do not provide for this, and if we refer to the labor and other laws we will find that they always keep the judges separate from the matter of union organizations.

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CSO: 4504/233

SOCIAL AFFAIRS MINISTER DEFENDS POLICIES

Tunis AL-ANWAR AL-TUNISIYAH in Arabic 12 Apr 87 p 4

[Interview with Social Affairs Minister Abdelaziz Ben Dhia by Raouf Mokadami: "The 3 Percent Was for These Reasons"]

[Text] Speak frankly and tell me everything the people are stating and reiterating!

With such words, Mr Abdelaziz Ben Dhia, the minister of social affairs, received me in his office, where he stays until late at night, so that the questioning could be a dialogue and the discussion could be a presentation of what the man in the street is actually stating and reiterating. In spite of the bitter facts Mr Abdelaziz Ben Dhia was receiving, he remains most optimistic about the future, as long as everyone is aware of the seriousness of what has happened and possesses determination.

Question: Mr minister, as I enter your office, you have been engrossed in calculating, multiplying and subtracting, as you are standing. It appears that the issue of the social funds has now become truly oppressive, especially after the recent increase that was decreed, which has been introduced in the form of new levies on the supplementary allowance which are paid to the national social insurance fund. What is the significance of this measure, at a time when some wage-earners are complaining and the worker feels that he has paid a lot?

Answer: In the past years, an increase in wages occurred. The legislators at that time stipulated that with respect to the allowances, they would be exempted from all taxes and levies. Then agreement was reached that with respect to public jobs, levies would be imposed and their application would start in January 1985, that is, the employees would be the ones who would pay. As for the government, it would start to pay beginning January 1988. In the private sector, no finding was made on the date of the commencement of payment. Then we considered it appropriate now that it would be proper for us to begin the application, especially since the social funds are faced with a very great threat. The government recommended that the deduction with respect to the workers take place in March (3 percent) then in July (another 3). With respect to the owners of organizations, the deduction (a third of

the amount) would occur starting July 1987 and the date of the payment of the remainder would be determined by an order. For information's sake, part of these new incomes will be paid to the people who want optional early retirement, and the new disbursements will be taken into account at the time of retirement. Also for information's sake, these new incomes will only help eliminate the social funds' deficit to an extent scarcely worth mentioning.

Question: However, your excellency the minister, the deterioration in the citizens' buying power and the payment of it all at one time will not induce them to think about such explanations, in addition to the level of services the funds offer.

Answer: Why don't the citizens think about the increase in the minimum wage stipulated in the month of May 1986, which cost the government 20 billion a year? Why don't they think, also, about these clinics which were built for their sake, which do not cost them more than a dinar? Why don't they know that we are the only country where the first 10 years of their employment is computed at 40 percent in the private sector? Moreover, aren't we the only country where widows get 75 percent of their husbands' salary, while in the industrial countries they get only 50 percent? Since 1980, we have been slipping in facilitating matters and going easy with people to the point where these funds have reached their present lamentable condition. Moreover, why do wage and salary earners agree to steal from the funds in various ways, in addition to the organizations which do not pay? Name me a given organization and I will show you its debts. In the old-age sector alone, there is a deficit ranging from 20 to 27 billion. This is the sort of situation we have come to. If in the seventh plan we arrive at an ordinary balance for the funds, we will indeed have performed a giant act and some decrees have been initiated for such reasons.

Question: Expulsions have been numerous in the recent period and I do not imagine that you are unaware of what is happening and what its effects are.

Answer: We accept expulsions only after an investigative search of the job and the answer to the question whether the organization which has carried out the expulsion is suffering from financial problems. Then a committee is sent by the Ministry of Economy to investigate the difficulties of these organizations. If there are no difficulties we totally refuse even a mere meeting of the expulsion committee. This is in addition to our adherence to the other solutions (the study of special cases, the reduction in work hours, half time work). Indeed, we are prepared even to guide the persons who have been expelled and enlighten them in ways of getting their rights. If the organization is shut down for reasons outside our jurisdiction, what then is to be done?

Question: Since 1983, wages have been frozen while prices have experienced a great rise. If people accept this situation, it is certain that they will at the least estimate demand control of production and productivity indices and increases.

Answer: Production and productivity indices exist in a number of sectors. The ministry has such indices. A committee has been formed with the

Federation of Workers one of whose tasks is to review the organizations which are economically threatened and the same committee reviews the situation of the organizations which have a financial return and have realized profits and ways for the workers to benefit from the returns and profits. Conversely, how should we now demand an increase? Frankly, it is madness. I will give you an example of an organization which squandered 20 times its capital and another which instead of employing 6,000 workers employed 9,000. These facts are not at all trivial. The important thing is that we will apply the standards of production with respect to the profit-making organizations and each party will receive his rights.

Question: Let me present a final question to your excellency, which is related to the list which it has been repeatedly said contains the names of people who were expelled from their jobs. What is the truth about this list, specifically?

Answer: The Federation of Labor presented us with a list which contained the names of everyone who had been dismissed from work, in 1985 especially, and we reviewed the list with the ministries involved in the matter in coordination with the Ministry of Public Employment. We found cases of people who were dismissed from work on the part of the disciplinary councils for numerous dissimilar reasons. We compiled the list and contacted a number of ministries. A number of these people have now returned, and we hope that we will keep another list with the federation, then review it. Our hope is that each person who was expelled will return to his work, and this will happen soon, with God's permission.

11887

CSO: 4504/236

TWO AMBASSADORS CHARGED WITH GRAFT

Tunis AL-ANWAR AL-TUNISIYAH in Arabic 26 Apr 87 p 4

[Article: "Bennour Took over Green Lands and Belkhodja 13 Pieces of Foreigners' Real Estate"]

[Text] AL-ANWAR has learned that the investigation which the judiciary authorities have authorized be initiated against Mr Tahar Belkhodja have not been restricted to the period he spent at the head of our embassy in West Germany but rather include his position at the time he was minister of the interior, then minister of information, as well.

AL-ANWAR has learned that in addition to what we published last week on Mr Tahar Belkhodja's conduct at the time he was an ambassador in Bonn, he, that is, Tahar Belkhodja, engaged in similar but more serious conduct the time he was at the head of the Ministry of the Interior.

One of the things that is being bruited about is that Mr Tahar Belkhodja exploited his influence as minister of the interior and applied various forms of pressure on a group of foreigners to sell their properties to him at token prices.

In this capacity of his, he managed to acquire 13 pieces of real estate on Alain Safari road, which is considered one of the best-developed sections here in the capital.

Thus, with the stroke of a pen, this street became the private property of Tahar Belkhodja, who engaged the same practice and the same process to acquire a luxury villa in Hamamet.

AL-ANWAR has also learned that the same person did not abide by the laws during his tenure in the Ministry of Information, since it is being bruited about that there are a number of family invoices payable by the ministry budget in addition to numerous other excesses.

Another thing that was mentioned is that Mr Tahar Belkhodja, all this notwithstanding, has not paid a debt of 50,000 dinars which he obtained from a domestic bank and it is not to be ruled out that the investigations underway

now in his regard will reveal other excesses which are no less grave than those we mentioned of exploiting influence to obtain financial and material financial benefits.

It is well known that Mr Tahar Belkhodja fled to France a long time ago and has not yet returned. Information has it that he is living a life of ease and opulence between Nice and Paris.

Ahmed Bennour -- Speculations

AL-ANWAR has also learned that an investigation has been initiated on the conduct of Mr Ahmed Bennour, the most recent aspect of whose work was our country's ambassador to Italy, from which he fled to France, where he has now been residing since his dismissal last fall.

It appears that while he was national security director Mr Ahmed Bennour deliberately declared some areas as green areas on which it was not permitted to construct housing, then resorted by devious means to buy them from their owners at low prices in order to prepare them and subdivide them into plots of acreage suitable for housing and to take charge of selling them at substantial prices.

However, scrutinizing the violation more thoroughly, in the sales and purchase contracts for further profit he recorded only prices much lower than those one agreed on in the two cases, in order to avoid payment and to manipulate the Tax Department.

A full investigation is now taking place on all these files and others in order to ascertain their validity and to rule on them on the basis of justice and the law, which no one in this country is above.

11887

CSO: 4504/236

MUJAHIDIN COMMANDER DISCUSSES EFFORTS TO CONTROL MAIN HIGHWAY

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 4 Mar 87 pp 24-25

[Interview with Mujahidin commander Jamal Shirin; "AL-MUJTAMA' Enters Jihad Operations Theater in Afghanistan and Interviews Jamal Shirin, Commander of Forces Working To Liberate Afghanistan; Front Commanders Met and Agreed To Form Large Number of Advance Guards From All Jihad Parties To Guard Main Highway; Afghan Commander: We Heavily Shelled Enemy with BM-12 Missiles and Began To Advance According to Plan Under Cover of Strong Fire; Our Battle with Communist Enemy over Main Highway Leading to Most Northeast Provinces Has Made Things Hard for Enemy and Has Cost Him Large Number Killed and Wounded and Munitions"]

[Text] The road to most of Afghanistan's northeast provinces passes through the areas of Jawar, Mani Kandoy, Sanakey, and Tawney in Paktia Province. It is the road to keeping communism sleepless. This is why the communists have been eager to control this road and why the Mujahidin are as eager to keep it under their control as they are eager to keep their religion.

This is why the infidel forces and the forces of Islam were both successful in the battle for this area until nearly 3 months ago, when the Mujahidin controlled this pass for a period of time. Then a large communist force was able to plant its feet in some parts in the early days of 1986. The brave Mujahidin launched concerted attacks on the communist force which ended up in liberating the area, purging it of communism and regaining full control over it. Ten days had barely passed when a large communist force was again able to gain control over important points overlooking the highway. The Mujahidin retaliated with a sweeping attack and were able to liberate the area anew.

Jamal Shirin, the Mujahidin forces commander who supervised the planning and execution of the offensive in his capacity as an inhabitant of the area and a good expert on its geography, explained to us how the area was liberated, saying:

Some time ago, the enemy advanced to cut off the highway in the area because it leads to 17 provinces and he was able to do so after fierce

battles which lasted several days and resulted in the emigration of many of the inhabitants of the neighboring villages.

We had to regain the highway because of its importance. We planned a decisive battle against the enemy for the purpose and we attacked our targets under the command of brother Nisratollah, who was wounded in the latest battles. Groups from all the parties took part in this offensive. Ten days later, a joint Russian-government force arrived and its operations were supervised by the minister of defense himself and by a number of Russian and Afghan advisers, including Shahnawaz, the well-known adviser.

The Mujahidin fought ferocious battles against this force and those battles ended with 30 government officers and 60 troops killed and with 60 other troops captured. But the force was ultimately able to regain some positions and to cut off the highway, which is the reason for all these operations. So another battle had to be launched in order that the Mujahidin may regain control over this important highway.

[Question] How did the new battle begin?

[Answer] The early beginnings of the battle occurred 20 days ago, i.e., after the enemy directly deployed in the area and when engineering corps teams began to infiltrate and remove the mines the enemy had planted around his three positions for protection from the Mujahidin. We selected a gap in a place from which the enemy had not expected an attack and we planted a number of the mines we had removed in the path through which we expected the communist forces to retreat or to receive reinforcements. This action caused them heavy losses afterwards.

[Question] How was the direct attack conducted?

[Answer] After the abovementioned prelude, we heavily shelled the enemy with BM-12 missiles and then advanced according to plan under the cover of heavy fire.

[Question] Can we know something about the attack plan?

[Answer] The plan called for the Mujahidin to attack along two axes, the first from the east and the second from the west, with the group advancing from the west opening fire 10 minutes before the other group. But the first group was 25 minutes late and we in the second group opened fire on the enemy who turned his fire on us. Meanwhile, the group advancing from the west stormed the position. After short battles, we were able to seize the three positions and then proceeded to purge the areas.

[Question] You haven't told us how hard the enemy resisted.

[Answer] I have already told you that prior to the direct attack, we heavily shelled the area with missiles, destroying the major part of the buildings in which the enemy was taking protection. Consequently, the enemy's resistance weakened. What made it even weaker was when enemy

groups tried to retreat, a rear communist force opened fire on those groups, either thinking that they were Mujahidin or seeking to prevent them from withdrawing. As a result, a number of the enemy troops were killed by their comrades. Consequently, a large number of them surrendered. The total number of troops in these centers was nearly 750 troops, of whom 250 troops surrendered and are now under our control. As for enemy troops killed, we found nearly 115 bodies in the two centers we now control. There were nearly 30 troops killed in the third center, which was liberated by another group of our Mujahidin.

[Question] How many Mujahidin took part in the attack?

[Answer] There were nearly 540 Mujahidin from all the organizations existing in the area.

[Question] Aren't you afraid that the communists will return, considering that the battles have been going on like this for over 3 months?

[Answer] The commanders of the various fronts have met and agreed to form a large number of advance guard groups to protect and secure the highway and to have all the parties participate in these groups so that we may be fully prepared to confront any force, regardless of its size.

[Question] What are the material consequences of the latest battle, which ended on 25 January 1987?

[Answer] We were able, thanks be to God, to liberate the three centers and to achieve our primary objective, which is to control the highway through which the Mujahdin pass into Afghanistan. We also inflicted heavy losses, in both lives and weapons, on the enemy. I have just mentioned the number of those killed and captured. As for the material consequences, we downed an enemy aircraft, burned a number of his vehicles, and damaged and then seized two enemy tanks. The Mujahidin also captured five heavy 14.5-mm machineguns, five heavy 12.7-mm machineguns, five Klashnikoffs, four radios, six mortars, and quantities of other weapons and munitions.

Concluding this interview, we wish you further victories until Afghanistan is liberated and until the Islamic state for which every Muslim on earth aspires is established in it. God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

8494/9190

CSO: 4604/27

MISSIONS ABROAD ALERTED ON MISUSE OF GANDHI'S NAME

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 22 Apr 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, April 21: Indian missions in several countries including the United Kingdom and the United States, have been told to take steps to stop an international business organisation from using the name of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in a dubious advertising campaign.

The advertisements, inserted by the organisation Business International in several prestigious foreign magazines in recent weeks, claim to have arranged a closed-door meeting between the Prime Minister and business executives of multinational companies. The advertisement also indicates that the organisation is capable of arranging more such meetings.

A sample of the advertisement appearing in the reputed London-based magazine, *The Economist*, has a bold catchline asking: "Did you meet the Prime Minister?" The copy in the full page advertisement goes on to read: "The Prime Minister of India, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, met with over 80 multinational business executives at a closed-door conference in New Delhi.

"We brought them together.

"In fact, our roundtables, conferences and seminars have been providing rare access to key decision makers for over 30 years in more than 50 countries."

The government has taken a serious view of the advertisements because of the implied meaning of the contents. An official spokesman said the personal reference to the Indian Prime Minister "was not in good taste."

The organisation, which

claims a clientele of over 200 multinational companies has its offices in Hong Kong and 16 other major cities across the world.

The matter came up in the Lok Sabha yesterday when the Janata leader, Prof Madhu Dandavate, pointed out that certain international organisations appeared to be misusing the Prime Minister's name.

Mr Gandhi indicated that he attended international conferences and seminars in good faith and did not expect such an event to be shown in a wrong light.

The Prime Minister had attended a closed-door conference arranged by the organisation, Business International, in New Delhi in January last year. A confidential briefing paper supplied to multinational business executives on the occasion gave a complete business profile and opportunities available in India. The paper dealt at length with the political background of India, including its key political parties, their policies and priorities. The paper also discussed the country's social background—its social fabric, influential social groups and social unrest.

The confidential paper also described the Prime Minister and his government as "more pro-business and less ideological than any of its predecessors, largely because of Rajiv Gandhi's own views."

The conference was completely closed door and even the press did not have any access to the proceedings, but the Indian media was informed about the conference and its proceedings at a formal briefing.

NAVY SEEKS TO PURCHASE SEA EAGLE MISSILES FROM UK

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Apr 87 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, April 14.--The Navy is trying to get the Sea Eagle missiles--which are expected to form part of its weapons package from later this year. Considerable progress has been made towards developing a depot and service facilities for the missiles at Karanja, the south of Bombay, across the harbour.

A missile as sophisticated as the Sea Eagle, which is being bought from Britain, requires careful storage and maintenance. A missile is stored in sections, the propellant, the warhead and the guidance system are kept separate--until filled to the delivery vehicle.

Work on the depot began in September and is progressing according to schedule. Those working at Karanja have already acquired a measure of expertise in missiles. Many missiles in service are stored there, though it is not the only place providing such facilities.

The Navy is eagerly awaiting the Sea Eagle, which will be its first anti-ship missile which can be delivered from an aircraft. That increases the range and flexibility of the weapon; in fact, it appreciably enhances the capability of the force as a whole.

The Pakistani Navy has been equipped with the Exocet sea-skimming missile, the French weapon that was used effectively by the Argentine Navy in sinking the Royal Navy frigate, HMS Sheffield, during the Falklands war. The Exocet was developed in the late 1970s, the Sea Eagle belongs to a later generation.

In selecting the Sea Eagle, the Navy broke with a tradition: for the first time it sought a weapon system that at the time was in the process of development. Till then, it had bought weapons that were already in service somewhere. However, missile technology is changing rapidly, and the Navy preferred to acquire something truly contemporary.

Karanja, apart from having the missile depots, is also a training centre for people manning missile boats and certain underwater vehicles. It also has an ammunition depot.

/13046

CSO: 4600/1637

FALL IN OVERALL EMPLOYMENT GROWTH RATE REPORTED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 22 Apr 87 p 9

[Text]

Ranchi, April 21 (UNI): The overall growth rate of employment in the country fell to 1.8 per cent in 1985-86 over the preceding year, despite the public sector registering an all-round higher percentage.

According to official sources, while the employment in the public sector increased by more than two per cent with the number growing from 17.27 million to 17.66 million in 1985-86 over the year ending in March 1985, the private sector could register only 0.7 per cent rise from 7.31 million to 7.36 million in the comparative periods.

Employment generation in the public sector increased in all branches, the state establishments registering the highest growth rate of 4.9 per cent, followed by Central establishments 2.2 per cent.

The sources said the employment in the organised sector went up by 2.9 per cent from 3.16 million as on March 31, 1985, to 3.25 million on March 31, 1986.

The National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) under the ministry of rural development generated a surplus mandays of about 316 million against the targetted 228 million mandays in 1985-86 and 1,450 mandays in the Seventh Plan.

Against a target of creating 275 million mandays last year,

the achievement under the NREP was 214 mandays up to September 1986.

Under the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), as against the target of about 200 million mandays, 231 mandays were generated in 1985-86, and against the last year's target of 236 million, 119 mandays were created in the first six months.

The Self-Employment Scheme for the Educated Unemployed Youth benefited about 2.21 lakh in 1985-86. The scheme will be continued for the remaining period of Seventh Plan in a slightly modified form. The annual target of the scheme will be 2.5 lakh, the sources said.

The total number of unemployed on the live registers of employment exchanges at 1986 end was 30.13 million, showing a 14.7 per cent rise in the year. In Bihar the number was 2.94 million.

Nearly 50 per cent of the registered job seekers are educated (matriculates and above). Their number rose from 5.36 lakhs in 1985-86 to 15 lakhs as on June 30, 1986.

During January to June, 1986 the number of educated unemployed of matriculation and above but not graduation increased from 3.53 million and those of graduates and post-graduates from 2.4 million to 2.6 million.

/13104
CSO: 4600/1654

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO--The first-ever memorandum of understanding (MOU) was signed here today between the Indian and Mexican railways for exchange of information and personnel for technical assistance, training and cooperation in the railway sector. The MOU was signed between the chairman of the Indian Railways, Mr Prakash Narain, and the director general of the Mexican National Railways, Mr Andres Caso Lombardo. Mr Lombardo is leading a delegation from the Mexican Railways which will visit the locomotive factory at Varanasi, coach factory in Madras and other training facilities. A separate contract was also signed between the Mexican National Railways and the Rail India Technical and Economic Services (RITES). [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 22 Apr 87 p 9] /13104

CSO: 4600/1655

AMBASSADOR INTERVIEWED ON RELATIONS WITH USSR, OTHER ISSUES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Apr 87 p 14

[Interview with Naser Nowbari-Heyrani, ambassador to the Soviet Union, by KEYHAN, date and place not specified]

[Text] KEYHAN political service. In an interview with our correspondent, Naser Nowbari-Heyrani, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Moscow, evaluated the policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in its dealings with the USSR, the positions of that country in regards to the imposed war of Iraq against Iran and other issues. The ambassador of Iran to the Soviet Union said: The basic principle with regard to relations between Iran and the USSR is to establish a relationship founded on equality and mutual respect, without interference in each others internal affairs. He also said: In the present system of the Soviet Union, emphasis is placed on individual initiative. In another part of his statements, he said: At the present in the Soviet Union, there are fewer discussions about Lenin's governmental forms; emphasis is placed mostly on the spirit of Lenin's revolution. The ambassador of Iran to the Soviet Union also said in this interview that one of the central points of the U.S. Middle East policies is prevention of good neighborly relations between Iran and the Soviet Union. Concerning the revelations about McFarlane's visit to Iran, Nowbari said: The exposure of the visit of McFarlane to Tehran shocked the Soviets, and the imam's interpretation of the event, that is, the shaking of the Kremlin, was quite evident.

The complete text of the interview follows:

[Question] What are the principles and bases taken into consideration in establishing relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the USSR?

[Answer] In establishing relations with the Soviet Union, certain factors are influential. Firstly, the Soviet Union is Iran's largest neighbor, with about 2,500 km of water and land borders between the two countries. Given that there are special sensitivities inherent between two neighboring countries, in practice, the relations between Iran and the Soviet Union are affected by those characteristics. The basic principle that we take into consideration in establishing relations between Iran and the Soviet Union that relations be based on equality and mutual respect, without interfering in each other's internal affairs.

We asked: What has the trend been regarding the political and economic relations of Iran and the Soviet Union since the revolution?

He answered: Relations between Iran and the Soviet Union since the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran have undergone particular changes. During this period, both in the political and economic dimensions, relations have undergone ups and downs. One of the factors in these ups and downs is the lack of sufficient understanding on the part of the Soviet Union of the nature and realities of the newfound Islamic revolution. Of course, it must be noted that during this period, despite the many ups and downs in the relations between the two countries, relations between the two countries have been growing. In my opinion, this is due to the factor of the two countries being neighbors and an increase in mutual understanding.

We asked: What changes has the visit of the minister of foreign affairs to Moscow created in the relations between the two countries?

Nowbari answered: The visit of the minister of foreign affairs to Moscow is, in fact, a fundamental turning point in the trend towards the growth of relations between the two countries. This is the first official visit of the minister of foreign affairs of Iran to Moscow, in fact, the first visit of the minister of foreign affairs of our country to the Soviet Union in 50 years. This visit, which will open a new chapter in relations between Iran and the Soviet Union, is very important. In these meetings, the two countries held detailed, high-level discussions on all the issues of interest, were informed of each other's views, and tried to find common points of view to resume and complete future negotiations.

[Question] In the recent economic cooperation protocols signed between Iran and the Soviet Union, what practical guarantees exist with regard to the precise implementation of its content?

[Answer] If we were to answer this question in an absolute sense, it can be said that there exists no protocol in the world that would have a 100-percent guarantee. But, the protocols that were signed include such guarantees that a protocol calls for. These protocols were signed officially between the two governments and in the visit of Dr Velayati, too, these agreements were once again endorsed by high Soviet officials.

Part of these agreements are being implemented at the present time. For example, Soviet experts have all left Iran in the recent year. However, these protocols provide that they return when Iran announces that it needs them. At the present time, a number of them have returned and are working. The new protocols signed between the two countries are important in that in them almost all the problems that had been created in the course of the past few years as a result of recession have been discussed extensively and the main points have been resolved. Agreements were reached between the two countries even in order to pay the financial debts, and in a visit made by Mr. Katushev to Tehran, all these points were given the final signatures of the representatives of the two governments.

[Question] What are the most important political issues that exist in the relations between the two countries at the present?

[Answer] There are two major issues in the negotiations between the two countries. One is the issue of Afghanistan and another is that of the war.

The question was asked: It seems that certain changes are taking place in the area of the issue of Afghanistan, especially in terms of Iran-Soviet policies. What is your opinion in this regard?

Nowbari said: At the present time, the Soviets confess in various ways that their entering Afghanistan was a mistake. They have come to the conclusion that not only has the occupation of Afghanistan failed to net them their desired results but it has also gradually decreased their influence in Afghan society. The occupation of Afghanistan has caused Soviet policy to suffer, particularly in terms of the Muslim countries, and has given a practical excuse to U.S. imperialism to increase its influence in the region. Therefore, for the average Soviet citizen, the reason behind the Soviet army's involvement in the Afghanistan front is unclear. It is interesting that the Soviets openly say that the Americans would like to do something to ensure that the Soviets prolong their stay in Afghanistan.

In fact, the Americans hope to make a crisis similar to that of Vietnam in Afghanistan. Considering these points, the Soviet officials have begun certain actions recently which indicate that they wish to return their forces from Afghanistan as soon as possible. In fact, if there is a change in the Soviet policy, it would be in regards to Afghanistan and their apparent inclination to retreat from Afghanistan. Iran, too, from the beginning, has emphasized the departure of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The imam emphasized to the Soviet ambassador of the time, in the very early hours of the Soviet soldiers entering Afghanistan, that this was a mistake and that they would not gain anything by it. Therefore, if the Soviets have realized their mistake and actually want to leave Afghanistan, well, naturally this will conform to the positions that we have always maintained and we welcome it. Our new plans, too, will stem from these new changes in regards to the issue of Afghanistan.

[Question] What are the positions of the Soviet Union in regards to the imposed war and what discussions took place in the recent negotiations about the imposed war?

[Answer] The official, open position of the Soviet Union in regards to the war is that they want the war to end and negotiations to start between the two countries. Of course, in recent negotiations, our views concerning the war were clarified in detail for the Soviet side. We told them: As you suppressed aggressive Hitler, we also have the right to suppress and punish aggressive Saddam. Of course, they did not have a strong, logical response. A communique issued by the Soviet government two months ago about the war emphasized that in order to end the war, one side needs to forget the past and look to the future. Obviously, this was an unreasonable and unacceptable demand. It is a view that the Soviets also do not accept in their own actions. Can the Soviets forget the past and forget Hitler's crimes after 40 years and the return of their soldiers from Germany? While we do not insist that our forces be stationed in Baghdad in order to punish Saddam, we do hope to punish him with the blows that we inflict on Saddam's army, without reaching Baghdad. Therefore, our demands are legitimate and cannot be condemned by any logic in the world. Considering the strong logic of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the power of the combatants on the fronts, there is hope that gradually the world will be forced to accept our logic. And signs are becoming evident since the Fav conquest and especially the Karbala-5 operations, more than ever before.

Recent Soviet Moves

We asked: How do you evaluate the recent policies of the Soviet leadership in regards to democratization and the economic, social and political reform of the Soviet Union?

The Iranian ambassador to Moscow answered: It seems that the new Soviet leader is more inclined towards pragmatism than his predecessors and is less bound by the conventional framework and traditional socialism. Many of the moves of the new leadership in the Soviet Union do not conform to the standards of conventional socialism, and from the viewpoint of conventional socialism, they could be considered a sort of regression, reactionism and deviation. The new leaders of the Soviet Union are not afraid of openly condemning the political, economic and social policies of their predecessors and consider those methods to be the source of corruption, lethargy, and recession in the economy and, on the whole, the social affairs of the country. At the present, the Soviet leaders feel that if they continue to emphasize the traditional socialist methods, considering the speed of the industrial and economic progress of the West, they will not be able to compete and will reach a dead end.

In fact, the main goal of the American S.D.I. is less military and technical. Their goal is mostly to impose economic pressure on the Soviet economy, because, after all, the Soviets might catch up after some delay in time, but their problem is their insufficient economic ability to meet this huge expense. Hence, the Soviets are trying to shake their economy and wait to

create some movements. The general shape of it is that, considering the dominant government system and the slower growth of individual incentive, now, they are increasing their emphasis on individual incentive. For example, they want to create a private sector to a certain degree, and in factories, they have given significant authority to the managers to sell products so that the manager of the factory will have more individual incentive with consideration for special material benefits. These actions are also observed on the domestic and political scenes as well. Now, they consider it permissible to have numerous candidates. Recently, Mr Gorbachev said: "The people need democracy as they do air." At the present time, in the Soviet Union, there is little discussion of Lenin's form of government; emphasis is placed mostly on the spirit of Lenin's revolution. In one meeting, a high-ranking Soviet official said: In the atomic age, we give priority to class struggle for peace, as needed.

This statement, in fact, shows the tendency towards pragmatism on the part of the new leaders of the Soviet Union compared to the ideological tendencies of their predecessors.

[Question] How do you evaluate the role of the United States and that of the West in general in terms of Iran-Soviet relations? For example, how was McFarlane's visit reflected in the USSR; what effect did it have on the relations of the two countries?

[Answer] What is very tangible is that one of the main issues in the U.S. Middle East policy is the prevention of good neighborly relations between Iran and the Soviet Union. The Americans are trying to disrupt the Iran-Soviet relations. They do not want an independent Iran to have good, neighborly relations with its northern neighbor, because the only justification for their presence in Iran once again is the existence of the Soviet threat.

Hence, the more disruption of the Iran-Soviet relations, the more justifiable the need for their repeated presence in Iran will seem. The Tower Commission report indicates this same conclusion. When McFarlane came to Tehran, the most important issue he emphasized was the Soviet armies on the northern borders of Iran. Of course, it is necessary for the Soviets to display more awareness and note the long-term objectives of the Americans. From our point of view, it is in the interest of both neighbors to have good relations coupled with mutual trust and security in a sound environment devoid of artificial disruptions.

The significant growth recently created in the trend toward the development and strengthening of the relations between the two countries has been confronted with the tremendous sensitivity of the West. Recently, they have begun ridiculous efforts. For example, they have attempted to invent false scenarios concerning the existence of conflicts and disruptions between the Iranian and Soviet diplomatic circles.

In order to confuse public opinion, they spread this rumor widely, and at a time when the climate governing all contacts and meetings, both in Tehran and Moscow, had been good and positive.

The exposure of the McFarlane visit to Tehran shocked the Soviets, and the imam's interpretation, that is, the shaking of the Kremlin, was quite evident. The Americans had pressured all countries not to give arms to Iran and wanted Iran, in the critical situation that was created for it, through the sending of U.S. arms, to be forced to establish relations with the United States. In the meetings that I had with high-ranking government officials, they said that the Americans, precisely when they were negotiating with them and saying that to impose an embargo on Iran was necessary, were sending arms to Iran secretly, openly emphasizing that the Americans had played games with them. It was very interesting to me that the imam had said long ago: "The United States has even played games with the United States."

The Americans have again begun efforts to revitalize these policies. Recently, Schultz went to China and Armacost went to Moscow. Soon, Schultz will also visit Moscow. In the future it will become clear whether or not history will repeat itself.

10,000
CSO: 4640/125

NON-OIL EXPORTS SURPASS 700 MILLION DOLLARS

Tehran RESALAT in Persian 14 Feb 87 p 11

[Text] News division: The public relations office of the center for the development of Iranian exports announced that in the first 10 months of 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987], 521,449 tons of non-oil goods, at a value of 52,830 million rials (about \$714 million), were exported, an increase of 14 percent in weight and 61 percent in value compared to the exports of the first 10 months of 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] (455,952 tons at a value of 32,871 million rials).

The value of the country's exports is expected to amount to 63 billion rials by the end of 1365 [1986-87], which reflects an increase of about 54 percent compared to the exports of 1364 [1985-86].

The efforts of the production and export units of the country to increase the export of non-oil products and gain new export markets as well as the facilities provided by the government and the movement within the organizations concerned with export and the existing export incentive systems have played a significant role in this increase.

In the first 10 months of this year, 6,325 tons of handwoven carpets valued at 23,476 million rials were exported, which increased in terms of weight by 139 percent and in terms of value by 228 percent compared to a similar period the previous year. Therefore, Iranian carpets, because of their improvement in quality and their distinguished status, have once again defeated their competitors on important international markets and regained their original place.

In the first 10 months of 1365 [1986-87], 20,190 million rials in agricultural goods were exported, which, compared to the export of agricultural products in a similar period last year (16,994 million rials), marks an increase of about 19 percent.

In Dey 1365 [22 December 1986-20 January 1987], about 30,952 tons of goods valued at 5,724 million rials were exported, which, compared to the statistics of exports in the same period the year before (24,404 tons valued at 3,469 million rials), marks an increase of 27 percent in weight and 56 percent in value.

AL-MODARESSI DISCUSSES 'NEGATIVES' IN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Tehran AL-SHAHID in Arabic 17 Feb 87 pp 42-33

[Article by Hojjat-ol-Islam Hadi al-Modaressi: "Phenomenon of Disseminating Negatives; How To Avoid Negative Manifestations in Islamic Movement"]

[Text] Inevitable observations:

First, unlike health, disease is transmitted rapidly. Microbes are transmitted from sick bodies to healthy bodies whereas the vigor of a healthy man is not transmitted to a sick man. If it were, patients would need no doctors and drugs and it would be enough for a healthy person to sit next to a sick person to cure him. The poet says:

"Do not lie a mangy camel next to a healthy one, for the healthy will get the mange."

What is said about the body can be rightly said about the soul. The "negatives" of a man with a negative spirit are rapidly transmitted to others whereas the wholesomeness of a healthy spirit is rarely transmitted to others. This is because man is tyrannical by nature. If not raised properly, man becomes more dangerous than a predatory animal and he cannot be trusted with property or life. Because of this nature, man is rapidly influenced by negatives.

This is why when God, may He be praised, planned to create man, and the angels learned of man's nature, they asked with surprise:

"Are You going to put on earth those who will corrupt it and shed blood when we praise and hallow You?" He said: "I know what you don't."

A man with no values, principles, purity, and learning will produce no more than bloodshed and corruption on earth.

Climbing to a mountaintop requires a great effort whereas it is enough for man to let himself go and dispense with a lot of effort to slide down.

For man to rise civilizationally, he also needs to exert a lot of effort. To be backward, it is enough to leave man without education and guidance.

To be pious, man needs to make an effort, whereas to be corrupt and dissolute, it is enough to eliminate the restrictions in man's way. This is man's nature and it is carried away by cravings and desires. This is why there has been an urgent need for messengers and prophets to carry out the task of education, inducement, and intimidation. Or else man has no path before him other than the path of decline and fall.

The reward a man gets for his piety is awarded only because man exerts an effort opposed to his tyrannical and negative nature.

Therefore, any "negatives," such as calumny and slander and the dissemination of vile deeds, spread in man's social environment like fire in dry stalks and leave their destructive impact on society.

A poet has said: "Tyranny is in the nature of man's soul and if you find a virtuous man, perhaps he will not be unjust."

Second, negatives often spread among working groups, especially among the Islamic movements.

Why?

In the movement^s generally, there are two reasons:

1. The presence of communication channels:

Because an individual is in contact with his colleagues, and they are in contact with him and with others, it is normal for all to know what is happening in their circle.

2. Narrow horizons:

However, the internal movements' horizons remain narrow. There is no doubt that the vast social horizon is broader. This is dictated by a movement's real situation and this reality has its strong impact on those belonging to the movement.

As to why negatives spread among the Islamic movements especially, there are two reasons:

Those who belong to the Islamic movements are usually people who aspire to achieve ideals in life. This state is reflected in some of them and they become idealistic, forgetting that man is likely to err, as he is likely to seek the right path.

When such an idealist finds that somebody has erred, he gets enraged, the world turns black in his eyes, and he begins to talk negatively and then spreads negative ideas.

Thus, because the Islamic movements are principled and idealistic in one way or another, they want the individual, the official, and the leader

to rise above human nature. To them, a small mistake becomes a big one, They magnify it and publicize it as a major scandal in the universe.

To tackle any negative correctly, it must be viewed in its natural dimensions and as something emanating from man who is expected to display such a negative because he is a human being and "every human being has his many faults." It is better to tackle a negative, be it individual or collective, then to publicize it.

Third, rumors are weapons of the feeble:

We wonder, why do some people waste their time slandering this or that person?

Is this the best way to achieve the planned objectives?

Is the objective of saving people and bringing them out of darkness into the light achieved by destroying and toppling people?

If we found a prophet or a holy man, would he pursue this path in conveying God's messages?

The truth is nothing of the sort.

It is the soul prone to evil and the feeble will that can find no principled ladder to climb to the rank of pious and holy men who seek to topple such men and replace them in the hearts of people.

You will not find in ancient or modern history an individual, a group, or a movement that has not been smashed when setting for itself sublime objectives to achieve and then exploiting the efforts of others and toppling those others to achieve its objectives.

We find nobody who has followed the negative and vile path without his entire life turning negative and vile, with people avoiding him as if he were a decaying cadaver.

The feeble are the ones who slander the strong among their ranks. If they themselves were strong, they would not find the time to waste on slander and on spreading a vile atmosphere around them.

The strong is the one who lays a brick a day in order to lay another brick atop of it. He finds no time to talk against others.

A worker was once asked: Are you worried?

He answered: I find no time to be worried.

Thus, the strong and the working find their time too short for their work. So, how could they permit themselves to waste time on listening to slander or calumny or to spread negatives?

Despite all this, I say that we cannot expect to find an Islamic movement whose ranks are free of individuals who spread negatives.

Why?

Because it is impossible to find a big group of people who are all healthy in body and spirit.

Regrettably, there are people to whom spreading negatives has become part of their lives and a habit because of educational reasons which engulfed them before they joined the Islamic movement and which continue to influence them.

Our belief in this idea does not mean that we should despair of curing it. Rather it means that the Islamic movement is concerned with:

First, watching such individuals and not permitting them to rise to the higher ranks of the Islamic movement until they are purged of such impurities.

Second, cleansing its climate of these negatives and fortifying itself strongly against them. When a sick individual moves to a strong and immune environment, his disease is not transmitted to others whereas the disease spreads in the right climate in which immunity is lacking.

Thus, if the spirit governing the Islamic movement is a healthy spirit, then the weak-spirited cannot grow in this society and in this movement.

After these observations, I find it necessary to deal with some aspects of the spread of negativism in the Islamic movement and to shed light on these aspects, which are:

1. One faction or one Islamic movement speaking against another.
2. One Islamic movement negatively criticizing another Islamic movement's action.
3. Members of a faction of an Islamic movement speaking against other members in the same faction.
4. Members of the Islamic movement speaking against the movement's leaders and officials.
5. One movement revealing another Islamic movement's secrets.

If we take into account that the Islamic movement's *raison d'être* is that it is a civilizational alternative to the existing reality, then its members are required to adorn themselves with a high sense of ethics which motivate society to follow their path and to see them in the true light approved by Islam. The Islamic movement will thus become the natural alternative to this reality.

It is truly regrettable that society's negatives are transmitted into the Islamic movement and are, at times, entrenched within the movement.

Slander, calumny, falsehood, and revealing other people's secrets are undoubtedly wrong when committed against an individual. When committed against a group or a movement, then they are more offensive and dangerous.

I wonder: How can an individual accuse a group and make a general judgment against it?

If an individual considers his secret to be important, then aren't other people's secrets important?

Moreover, why should we look for the negatives of others to publicize them? Why do we forget that they have civilizational positives that overwhelm these negatives?

If a group believes that it is more entitled than others to engage in Islamic action, then why doesn't it prove this practically?

Doesn't Islam urge all to work and does it not then evaluate people on the basis of piety and ability?

There are those who hear a report about a setback or a negative in an Islamic movement and try to magnify and publicize such a setback or negative as if it were a victory.

What is more serious is that some people attribute to this action of theirs a divine religious quality and consider it legitimate action. When somebody reproaches them, they say: This is our legal duty.

Or they say: A dissolute cannot be slandered.

Such people not only slander but also fabricate justifications for their slander, thus reaping redoubled torture.

Now, what is the way to deal with this phenomenon?

Before we answer, we must know who is responsible for spreading negatives.

The answer is: The truth is that those responsible for spreading negatives are three kinds of people:

1. Those who do and commit something negative.
2. Those who publicize the negative.
3. Those who listen to them.

In Islam, a man is prohibited from confessing his guilt before another man. The venerable Hadith says: "God shall have mercy on those who deflect slander from themselves."

Publicizing a negative about oneself, not to mention publicizing it about others, is prohibited.

More serious than those are those who listen to rumor and slander. Let us assume, for example, that a person goes to a group of people to transmit to them a vile report or a negative spirit and that they react by silencing him and shoving a stone in his mouth, then he will undoubtedly refrain from saying what he says and will not think of repeating it.

Islam even goes a step further and says: It is wrong to think ill of others, even if you don't do what your thoughts say. The venerable Koran says: "Some thinking is sinful."

The venerable Hadith says: "Interpret the action of a faithful brother in 70 good ways."

Imam al-Sadiq says in connection with publicizing vile deeds and negatives:

"He who tells about a believer what his eyes see and what his ears hear, then he is one of those about whom God, may He be praised, says: 'Those who love to see scandal broadcast among the believers will have a grievous penalty in this life and in the hereafter. God knows and ye know not.'"

For a man to say what he has not seen or heard, it is a great falsehood.

Therefore, the officials in charge of any movement are legally entrusted with eliminating the phenomenon of publicizing the negatives within a movement.

8494/9190
CSO: 4604/27

HUGE EMBEZZLEMENTS DISCLOSED AT ISLAMIC MAJLIS SESSION

London KEYHAN in Persian 14 May 87 p 14

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] During discussions on the national budget for the year 1365 [21 March 1986 – 20 March 1987] it was revealed that the government is faced with a huge budget deficit. This time deficit is so huge and astonishing that the government—according to an expert from the budget commission—is unable to meet many of its financial obligations for the second half of the year. We note that during this meeting mention was made repeatedly of an 800-billion-rial loan, but it was not mentioned that this money was either borrowed from foreign countries or through the printing of unbacked currency notes.

This Hadi Ghaffari was speaking as expert from the budget commission instead of as the favorite son of Najaf Abad. He gave the figure 2,552,212,800 rials as the total national budget for the the current year 1366 [21 March 1987 – 20 March 1988]. He said: What is expected and approved for revenue in the budget is as follows:

From oil, 1,490 billion rials, from taxes, 1,289 billion rials and 620 billion rials from other sources.

These three figures for revenue total 3,399 billion rials, and will increase to 3,499 billion including 100 billion rials in returns.

Hadi Ghaffari then said: How much of this revenue has been collected or can be collected?

Instead of 1,490 billion rials, oil has decreased to 1,390 billion rials, due to low oil prices as well as problems exporting it because of aerial bombings.

So far existing funds are 100 billion rials less than the anticipated figure. The taxes collected will be no more than 1,035 billion rials, instead of the 1,289 billion rials expected. Other revenue, expected to be 620 billion rials, will be no more than 350 billion rials, if we are optimistic.

Ghaffari said: We are thus able to have only 53 percent of the revenue expected and approved. He added: To these figures add the cost of the war and its continuous operations, which are also expensive.

Ghaffari mainly attributed the budget deficit to the drop in the price of oil, and he described that as a plot by the enemies of the Islamic republic. He said: Our enemies are waiting to see how much political stability the country has or does not have, so that they can decide on the basis of that political stability or the lack of it.

Hadi Ghaffari plainly disclosed that the Islamic republic has sold oil as low as five or six dollars per barrel. He added: They suddenly hit the price of our oil so hard that we were selling oil that we should have been selling for 26 dollars per barrel at six, seven, eight and nine dollars.

The benefits of our oil situation are disappearing. Finally, there is the war. We attack, others also attack and scatter our oil over the sea.

The Majlis budget commission expert then discussed the budget deficit, which he considered a product of the drop in oil prices. He said: For this budget deficit, whose figures I will give in detail in the second portion of my talk, we have five billion rials in friendly assistance from government staff for the first six months of the year only. For expenditures of the second six months of the year, which we do not currently plan to pay, we have 126 billion rials in suspended payments which we have identified but have not been able to pay for various reasons. The greatest part of these have to do with military, police, and educational organizations and similar research expenses. We also need 93 billion rials for the development budget. We have allocated 25 billion rials for the war, 15 billion also for employee holiday bonuses. These amounts are our deficits for the month of Esfand [20 February - 20 March]. In the allocation for 1366 [21 March 1987 - 20 March 1988] we had set aside 200 billion rials for the 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] deficit. He added: They obtained permission from His Holiness the Imam to borrow another 600 billion rials. We spent 721 billion of this 800 billion rials in the first 11 months. He said: In view of all these things and the 721 billion rials spent in the first 11 months, the 219 billion rials we need for the month of Esfand, we therefore have a deficit of 914 billion rials.

The deputies discussed various budget issues, seeking ways to make up the deficit. Hadi proposed to increase taxes again, increase the tax on gasoline and to reduce the development budgets, but with all that he himself noted that the government had already lowered the ceiling on the national development budget to 74 billion rials because it could not be reached, but are we to stop development in the country when we have no revenue, or not?

He then answered a deputy who had asked about the government's borrowing. He said: If a country in this situation with these special characteristics does not borrow, what does it do?

The Majlis session then took a 35-minute recess. When it resumed, Karubi, the speaker's Majlis aide, had left and was replaced by Yazdi, another speaker's aide, who continued the session in the absence of Hashemi Rafsanjani.

At the beginning of the session Zavare'i spoke in opposition to the amendment to the national budget. His remarks are given verbatim below:

The issue is the nature of the case. In the first article of every year's budget bill it is stated that the government is authorized to make the expenditures in view of income received. Mr Ghaffari has clearly stated that the gentlemen have spent some seventy billion tomans of this 94 billion tomans in these 11 months, and now they want permission to borrow the rest, some 21 billion tomans. I remember, and certainly many of the brothers remember His Holiness the Imam's message to the first session of the Majlis. One of his recommendations to the deputies there was that they make decisions that could remain as precedents. Of course this is a paraphrase, not his

actual words. If a precedent is a good one it will always remain, and if a precedent is bad it will be a millstone around the necks of the deputies who are carrying on this bad precedent. If the respected government... Yes, it is natural that I will now discuss the oil issue. They raised the price of oil to 26, 27, and 29 dollars, then the world brought it back to five dollars and incomes dropped. There is no doubt. The government knew it. At that time I myself was quartermaster. In Farvardin of 1365 [21 March - 20 April 1986] when we were about to get a budget the gentlemen reduced the Majlis budget more than 30 to 40 percent, while at that time the government decided to reduce it by only 15 percent. In Farvardin of 1365 they knew that this income would not be earned. At that time they spent a lot of time trying to amend the budget. Now we are dealing with loans or other problems, shortfalls in payments or cutting costs. In any case, we have still been unable to put this behind us.

The second point is what the government has brought to the Majlis, the bill the government has brought. Mr Herati has spoken of it here, saying that 26 percent of the oil revenue has been collected, otherwise I would not be talking. The fact is here that oil income has dropped from 140 billion tomans to (34/500) 435 billion rials. What the budget commission has presented is this:

I want the budget commission expert or this bill's respected advocate to explain how in two days the budget commission has worked a miracle and raised the oil revenues, which the government itself says is likely to be 435 billion rials, to 740 billion rials. How have the respected members of the budget commission been able to raise this figure to that point in two days? Perhaps it should be said that we have now taken our best interests into consideration.

The brothers know first of all that Mr Herati has spoken here previously as the bill's advocate. Second, the brothers know that every barrel of oil that is exported from the petroleum-exporting nations is recorded at OPEC. The world's economic institutions and economic newspapers and magazines have precise statistics and figures on this, and even how much money it cost. Therefore, this is not something that we know now (of course I do not know) but I have now asked the Ministry of Petroleum or insiders in these matters who would know how much petroleum Iraq has sold this year and how much money it has earned. This is not something that could become an issue if discussed elsewhere after arising here. Now how? The gentlemen came later with other figures. Therefore, if they have discarded the first figures, the other figures could all be window-dressing too. This will become a bad precedent. This is what is being discussed. Our revolution and our Islamic government are based upon thought, cultural values, ethics, and Islamic criteria. We will suffer no ill effects from not having, from having little or from poverty. None of them. What was the situation of Muslims in the time of the mission of the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him)? We all know. Praise God, we have had a war for six and one-half years now. It has been eight years since our revolution, if we want to say that we have been at war since the first day, but there are still sacks of flour piled outside the doors of the bakeries. We have not had the problems that we had during World War II, and the world war had nothing to do with us. They came from the south and left to the north. The problems of shortages and poverty do not do anything. If we say that our revenue is a certain amount, we must change the budget accordingly.

Another issue is that we are 789 billion rials short of meeting expenses. This calls for praise and thanks. It is said that they reduced the budget, but they come here saying in Article One the commission approved figures for the Budget Law taken without modification from the budget for 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] in the total for revenues and other sources of credit. You previously anticipated credit to provide for that 789 billion rials that government saved in the

present budget and in the development budget. Therefore when you lower the total credit ceiling to 320 billion rials, you have actually reduced it 789 billion rials and there have therefore been changes in the revenue figures.

Why do you not take that into account? This is actually all of it, and it must be corrected. Shouldn't the Majlis know that when you come here with an amendment, these revenues of 789 in addition to 1,330 rials, totaling more than 218 billion tomans, these are below the revenue ceiling foreseen in last year's budget, and this change in revenues changes this to complete the budget. I have nothing to say. Five people or one person can come here and talk, but these things will remain as precedent. Thirty to 50 years from now, if they want to commit abuses in some future majlis, they will say that in the time of His Holiness the Imam, when Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani, Mr Karubi, Mr Yazdi and the colleagues and proteges of the imam were speaker and deputy speakers of the majlis, they did these things, and they are therefore not ugly. These things will become precedent, they will remain in our history.

Concerning the things our brother Mr Herati has said, he said that the government has worked a miracle by running the country despite a 74 percent drop in revenue. I submit, and you know this yourself Mr Herati, that 789 billion rials were saved from the originally anticipated figure, and they are now borrowing 1,330 billion. There has therefore been a reduction from 3,889 billion to 3,200, and here they are borrowing 1,330 as well. (Deputy speaker: Your time has expired). Very well, I will finish now. You had 177 billion tomans in revenues but you borrowed the rest.

Fine, what difference does it make? If they told me to build a road, and it cost two billion tomans, and they give 500 million of it from one place and 1.5 million from another place, and they borrow it, in the end the money has been obtained.

The next question has to do with the oil issue. Mr Yazdi will allow me, since due to the lack of time I was not able to say all I had to say, just to say this one thing, and the principle of my opposition, in order to clarify this issue. Mr Gheffari said that "We have only one product, the pressure of the world is upon us." All of this is agreed to. The premise is that they made us a one-product country under the shah. or that the imperialist countries, in forming the new imperialism, tried to make the countries of the Third World severely dependent on them so that if a change were to take place they would not be able to save themselves easily. This plan was in effect against all countries, but we revolted eight years ago. We should have looked ahead. We should be looking ahead right now. Suppose we had no oil tomorrow. Respected commission expert! Tell us here, how would we manage the country if there were no oil? If there were no oil tomorrow, what would we do? Would we still borrow 200 billion, 180 billion tomans per year? What effects does this borrowing have on society?

We all know right now that the poor people of society are the ones who bear the burden of inflation. You have made this budget this year. What will you do next year? (Deputy speaker: You have spoken two extra minutes).

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CSO: 4640/130

BRIEFS

COPPER EXPORTS--The (Sarcheshmeh Copper Complex has exported 28,000 tons of its production to the outside world. This was stated by Engineer Shiri, the general director of the Iranian National Cooper Industries Company, who added that this means that raw materials will be secured in the future for the country's cable and wire plant. By putting into operation the second section of the Sarcheshmeh Copper Complex Plant, production will rise by 50-75 percent. Engineer Shiri said: We have concluded agreements to sell 6,000 more tons to the outside world. The company general director asserted that thanks to the efforts of the loyal workers in this complex, we have been able to compete with the advanced countries in exporting this commodity. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 12 Mar 87 p 2] 8494/9190

CSO: 4604/27

SIND CHIEF MINISTER TALKS ABOUT KARACHI PROVINCE'S PROBLEMS

Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 30 Mar-6 Apr 87 pp 8-14

[Interview with Sind Chief Ghaus Ali Shah by HURMAT Editor in Islamabad; date of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] Question: How do you view the overall situation in Karachi and the interior of Sind?

Answer: As you already know, during the martial law period, robberies and other happenings occurred in Sind and these really originated in 1983 when the MRD started its movement. As you are already aware, the movement was limited only to Sind--it did not gain popularity in any other province. But it drew people from Sind's rural areas and it is the first time that the rural people ever confronted an organized government. It was the army that halted this movement and a lot of criminals participated in it. The common people protested against the 'Waderas', i.e. big landlords. Kidnapping and robberies occurred in 1983-84, then in 1985 we participated in the elections. Look at the second half of 1984 and in 1985. We exercised control on such incidents because of an elected government which has the support of the people. When the martial law was lifted in 1985, the jail-breaking incident of Sukkur occurred. Jail-breaking incidents have also occurred previously in Sind and also in the course of the martial law. The hard criminals escaped from Sukkur jail and formed their own groups and gangs and committed many kidnapping and robberies. They brought about the same conditions as those of 1982 and 1983. We tried to bring these facts to the attention of the civilian institutions--the police, etc. We warned the police that no mistake will be excused. But I felt that these institutions in the last 9-10 years have lost their effectiveness and that they cannot completely control the situation; so then we asked the army for help and together we overpowered the criminals and now they happen to be within our control. We continue to control the situation as we did in 1986. As far as Karachi's situation is concerned, it is a large and widespread city so it is difficult to hunt a man down. In other words, in it live different kinds of people, who are culturally different, who speak different tongues and come from different backgrounds. It is a coincidence that I was sworn in on the sixth of April [1986] and approximately a week later, the incident regarding the student--Bushra Zaidi--occurred and you know what happened after that. After this incident, a different kind of feeling awakened in some people. You will notice that all kinds of people

have been living in Karachi, people from the frontier province, from Baluchistan, from Punjab, from Sind and also those who came from India after the partition. But there was no such problem before. Now that the population has grown, the problems also have grown—those of water, electricity, employment and transportation. As for the transportation problem you will notice that people who are in transportation come from one ethnic group.

Question: I think we should talk about conditions in Karachi later. First, let us discuss Sind's internal situation. I want to ask about the fact that its condition is said to be different from that of the other provinces, a separationist movement is going on there and India has its eye on it. What is your opinion on these matters and comments?

Answer: That is absolutely not the case. The Sindhi people are patriotic towards Pakistan the same way as people in any other province and are anxious to make Pakistan strong. But I will definitely stress that some elements are present everywhere. In the frontier province some people have a slogan of their own, and so there are some such people in Sind, who were not born today, their activities date back prior to Pakistan's formation. They had initiated their opposition prior to the formation of Pakistan and they carried on the movement in order to prove their intentions. But I will say this that the numbers of such people have not picked up, but on the other hand have gone down. You will find that this [i.e., agitation] happens in Lahore too, sometimes the communists or the women show up on the mall road.

Question: What I mean is: doesn't the entire province get disgraced when the people say such things in behalf of the entire province?

Answer: I want to say that these are the very elements who have not yet totally accepted Pakistan. I extend an invitation to the Punjabi and frontier province journalists to come to Sind. We will put them up in the interior of Sind so that they can find out for themselves how much the average Sindhi loves Pakistan. But all these elements have come and collected in Karachi so that they can protect themselves in the expansive surroundings and they are also supported by countries which haven't in their heart acknowledged Pakistan's existence. But you saw in the 1965 and also in the 71 war that the Sindhi people came forward just like people from any other province. May God will there is no war because it is never good, but [in case there is], I can assure you that the people will defend their country just like people from any other state.

Question: You must know that in the last few days, Mr Jan Muhammad Abbasi had made a statement that if India militarily intervenes in Sind, the Sindhi people will not stand by Pakistan, What is the basis for this statement by Mr Abbasi?

Answer: If you analyze, you will find out that Jan Muhammad Abbasi is the type of person who experiences difficulty with an elected government whether it be people's party or Ayub Khan's or the present administration. I have come to the conclusion that these people from the Jamaat-e Islami cannot get

along with an elected government. They have always sided with an unelected administration or they have also been a part of such an administration. So I think that this is the personal statement of an average man. It doesn't have any basis, so it should not be given any importance.

Question: Have the activities of the dacoits multiplied since the breakout from the Sukkur jail or there are other causes for them?

Answer: As I have indicated that these occurrences of robberies had in reality increased in 1983 when the MRD Movement started, which started only in Sind and not in any other province and took shape in the rural areas. The robberies increased after that. We exercised control over them from 1984-1985, but these people emerged after the lifting of the martial law because during the martial law the criminals were harshly sentenced. They were subjected to whippings and other harsh punishments handed down by the military courts. The criminals fear only harsh punishments. In the absence of the military, they came forward and the robberies increased. There is no doubt that there was an increase after the Sukkur jail breakout. But this is not the only cause, as it was an ongoing matter even during the martial law, during which control was gained up to some extent but not absolutely, with the lifting of the martial law, these people became more daring.

Question: How far is it true that some doctors, engineers, etc, too are dacoits?

Answer: This is absolutely incorrect. This is only propaganda because up until today among the people that we have caught or killed, we have not come across a single doctor or engineer. Therefore, this is totally wrong. Since there is unemployment in Sind, people tend to project a wrong picture. We cannot say that there is no unemployment in the other provinces, I think that it is true of every province. But in all other provinces, 95 percent of the people speak one tongue whereas Sind happens to have many languages. For this reason, there is resentment because they, i.e., the people of various troupes assume that in the absence of each other they would have found employment.

Question: You were just now saying that anti-Pakistan elements were present prior to its establishment but we find that only recently has there been an increment in this aspect.

Answer: No, that is not so.

Question: But [Abdul] Hafiz Pirzada and Mumtaz Bhutto have recently joined hands with such sloganeers, who seem to be increasing.

Answer: As you know, Hafiz Pirzada and Mumtaz Bhutto have been ministers in the Pakistani federal cabinet and one of them was also the chief minister of Sind. At that time everything was fine for them and they chose not to see anything that might be detrimental to the country or for Sind. But when they were out of power, they sensed that they might not get another chance at power, so they adopted policies which the disappointed people in the past have adopted, but no one even noticed it. I noticed it with harshness and

registered a legal case against them and put them in jail; God willing, I will proceed with the case. I felt strongly that matters had gotten a little complicated. I believe that the strength of Pakistan is in suppressing such elements.

Question: The press note which the Sind Government issued after the arrest of Mumtaz Bhutto and Pirzada had serious charges which called for immediate action against them.

Answer: The legal proceedings could not be undertaken immediately as they have to follow some regulations. Law is prevalent in the country and then there are also some basic rights. Since the courts are free, if there is even a minute negligence on our part, they can be freed by the supreme or the high court on technicalities. Therefore we want to make a strong case of it. Both of them have been charged with personal crimes. I expected to be also able to charge Hafiz Pirzada with personal crimes and submit the entire case in the court. Now all the main witnesses are ready too. It has hardly been a month since his arrest and this cannot be done immediately.

Question: The problem of opening the Khokhrapar Road [border crossing] has also become a matter of dispute and the common consensus is that its opening will increase India's subversive activities in Sind. How far is this true?

Answer: After much deliberation, the prime minister decided upon opening this road. If this was considered to be too harmful, then the prime minister wouldn't have made the announcement, especially in Sind territory. But after that an impression emerged about which no final conclusion can be made. But when there is tension between the two countries and a road is opened which has been closed before, such a feeling does come about.

Question: One common impression is that the wealth Sind Hindus assist some minor separationist movements financially.

Answer: No, such case has become apparent. But since the Indus dominated the politics and economy of Sind prior to the emergence of Pakistan and now they no longer do, we have found the separationist trend among the younger generation of the Hindus. There is a definite trend among them but their numbers are a drop in the bucket. A majority of the Hindus considers itself to be Pakistani and they think that their protection lies in the country's protection. You will find that if they do not think like that, their stay here will not be that easy.

Question: Some time ago it was said that the new Sindhis in Sind are selling off their properties. Do you know of any such thing?

Answer: What do you mean by the new Sindhis? Since when do you count them?

Question: Meaning the ones who settled in Sindh after the establishment of Pakistan.

Answer: If you mean the Punjabi settlers, then that is not the case. In any case, if anyone sold his land, it was not because he was leaving. He

might be getting better land somewhere else or he perhaps was going to where his kith and kin live, or for other reasons. But the case is not what you imagine it to be.

Question: Now, I want to discuss the Karachi happenings. In the two or so interviews which you were asked about "Operation Cleanup," and about the fact that many people were tipped off, as a result the "big fish" swam away from Sohrab Goth. Your answer to that was that the big fish never even lived there. My question is: Where do the big fish live?

Answer: As far as the big fish are concerned, their network is spread up to the United States,—they live in New York, in neighboring countries and in certain areas of Pakistan. There were no big fish in Sohrab Goth. The people who are involved in these affairs are not plain rich people but millionaires. Their life is either heaven or hell, that is, either superb or a total mess. They live in those places which I mentioned.

Question: In other words, they live in the well-to-do sections of Karachi?

Answer: Yes, because they have money but, we tried to catch them as we got the information. But when I was asked this question as to why the big fish were not found here, so I thought that the impression of the question was that the big fish dwelled here and that they had swam away due to the secret being out. To this I replied that it was not so.

Question: My question is that if the administration is aware of where the big fish are living, then why is there hesitation in touching them?

Answer: If the administration knew where A, B, C and D were living, there would be no problem in arresting them. You must have seen that if some persons who disobey the law, their rank and position is ignored and arrested are made. But this cannot be done easily. These people work underground, nevertheless, a campaign will be launched against all these smugglers and action will be initiated against all those big fish.

Question: You as well as the central government spokesmen have stated, in reference to the reaction generated by Operation Cleanup, that there was a secret hand behind it. So, again my question is: If the government is aware of the secret hand, why is it not identified?

Answer: If the foreign or secret hand is easily identifiable, then it cannot be termed a secret hand.

Question: But this is not enough for the public. Government cannot be free of responsibility by merely saying there was a secret hand behind all these incidents.

Answer: The administration will never neglect its duties. As you know, such incidents occur. For instance there was the so-called hammer group, it also had a secret hand behind it, which was caught by the administration and it turned out to be a foreign hand. Behind the Karachi incidents is a secret hand and

I am going after it. After catching it, we will expose it in the same way the hammer group was exposed. We are making a full effort and I also hold it to be the administration's responsibility.

Question: These days there is an overabundance of illegal weapons, which are also found in the hostels of colleges. Now even the average man is within the range of such influenced weapons.

Answer: If you have noticed, the selling of illegal weapons started after the onset of the Afghan refugees. Again, they are not manufactured in Sind, they come from across two states, i.e., the frontier province and Punjab. When weapons couldn't be checked in these two provinces, we planted alert squadrons here to perform checking; but this business has been around a long time and we are trying out best to end it. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons for the dacoities is this. But it is not happening just in Sind, Punjab is going through the same, so is Baluchistan, but it so happens that the bulk of your attention is focused on Sind.

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CSO: 4656/77

PAPER CRITICIZES INDIAN STAND ON AWACS

BK151223 Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 9 May 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Indo-Afghan Connection"]

[Text] Pakistan's case for AWACS is clear enough to make its frequent elaboration by the Foreign Office appear a little superfluous. But perhaps India's heightened lobbying to abort the deal, putting Pakistan on the defensive, accounts for the latest explanation the Foreign Office has issued. Pakistan's acquisition of the Airborne Warning and Control System is meant to enhance the national defence capabilities, not create an offensive threat to anyone--a fact that should not rattle those aware of the uninterrupted series of air violations of Pakistani territory by Afghan aircraft, whose mission has included the killing of Afghan refugees and Pakistani civilians at a single stroke. It is an open book that the frequent bombing of Pakistan's northern borders has not only claimed precious lives, but a vital casualty has also been the local population's sense of security.

The installation of AWACS may not work miracles but it gives the country a fighting chance to activate its defensive mechanism and ward off the possibility of such murderous attacks and thus re-establish public confidence.

The Foreign Office statement that "those who have no intentions of violating Pakistan's airspace have nothing to fear" should clarify the issue for those with a clear conscience. However, it does appear that the Indian External Affairs Minister's choice of Kabul as the launching pad for a verbal attack on Pakistan's demand for AWACS will not be taken too kindly by those that expect a member of NAM [Nonaligned Movement] to endorse the basic principles of non-alignment. The warmth of Indo-Afghan exchanges seems doubly suspect at a time when Pakistan's air space is being violated with regularity, and saboteur activity by Afghan agents is at its peak in Pakistan.

Indian propaganda is perhaps no obstacle to Pakistan's case for AWACS in the immediate context; but in the longer term it carries the possibility of more belligerency in the region--mainly because it adds to the apprehension that India envisages an imperialist role for itself in the region and will choose partners indiscriminately in order to cow down a neighbour that stands for the principle of sovereignty and nonalignment.

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CSO: 4600/227

CONCERN VOICED OVER CAMPUS VIOLENCE

Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 30 Mar-6 Apr 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Red Flag Replaces the National Flag"]

[Excerpts] Like many other educational institutions of Peshawar, the grave tensions that sprang up in Peshawar University and Islamia College have apparently been brought under control and the administration, after meeting the various demands of the student body representatives, have brought peace and order. But in reality, restrictions on many educational institutions and the students' control of the many areas of the university continue, as also confrontations between various groups of students as usual. Under these circumstances, the conditions in Peshawar's educational institutions can easily at any time take a turn for the worse, and another problem of peace and order can arise for the administration.

In Peshawar, as in other parts of the country, student inter-group fighting is not a new thing. Unfortunately, a majority of the students in our country has been divided between the extremist organizations. These hands which ought to have held books now hold kalashnikovs and other automatic weapons. In other words, the students of today are no longer students, they have become tools of the various political parties. Many of the student leaders are merely puppets whose strings are moved from the central offices of the political parties. There are also some organizations of armed students who obtain money, weapons and instructions from across the borders, therefore they are similar to foreign "student" agents.

In the frontier province, student infighting has become a serious matter of concern now because the political parties backing them are also considering direct confrontation with each other. It was the support and encouragement of the political parties that resulted in the replacement of the national flag with a red flag at the vice chancellor's office at the Peshawar University campus by the roaming armed bands of students. Not too long ago, the same insult to the flag occurred at Sind's Jamshoro University on independence day when many student supporters of the "Sindhudesh" movement fired at the masted Pakistani flag and shredded it into pieces. Then they took down the torn and tattered green flag with the crescent and threw it into a commode in one of the hostel's bathrooms.

In these columns, we have repeatedly brought to the administration's attention these sad actions of the students and have requested that if the Almighty God ever gives them some time off from politics and the daily routine, they pay some attention to the worsened conditions in the educational institutions. In our country the progress and development that is occurring under the 5-point program and other such programs is undoubtedly necessary and worth appreciation, but when it is very apparent that the country's future is being taken over by group politics and confrontation; why do we even bother to build new roads or repair the old ones. At the same time, we will also request the Pakistani political parties to review their present policies and refrain from involving the dear students in rivalries within themselves. If these political parties are concerned with their country's future, they ought to replace the weapons in students' hands with books. As long as the students continue carrying automatic weapons, the Pakistani flag will continue suffering disgrace.

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